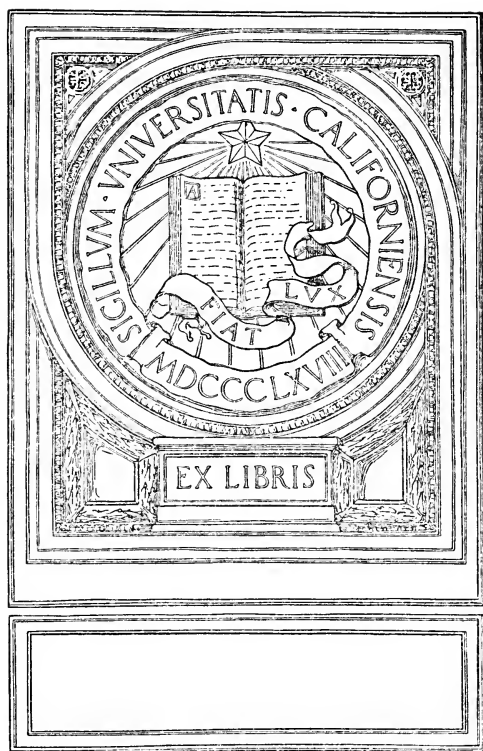


E

234

C53

CAMPAIGN  
IN THE ILLINOIS







OHIO VALLEY HISTORICAL SERIES.

NUMBER THREE.

---

CLARK'S

CAMPAIGN IN THE ILLINOIS.



Col. George Rogers Clark's

Sketch of his

# CAMPAIGN IN THE ILLINOIS

in 1778-79

with

## AN INTRODUCTION

By Hon. Henry Pirtle of Louisville

and

## AN APPENDIX

containing

THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INSTRUCTIONS TO COL. CLARK

and

## MAJOR BOWMAN'S JOURNAL

of the

TAKING OF POST ST. VINCENTS.

---

Cincinnati  
ROBERT CLARKE & CO.  
1907.

E234  
C 53

TO 2045  
APPROX 11/1/40



## PUBLISHER'S NOTICE.

---

THE letter here printed for the first time, was presented to the Historical Society of Kentucky by Hon. George Mason, of Gunston Hall, Virginia, to whom it was addressed. We are indebted to Hon. Henry Pirtle, of Louisville, for the privilege of incorporating it in our SERIES, and also for the Introduction.

We have endeavored to follow the manuscript as closely as was possible in print, adding only a word here and there (in italics), which seemed necessary to complete the sense. To have modernized it would have required so many alterations, that we thought it unadvisable to make the attempt. A few notes have been added which may be of some use or interest to the reader.

We have appended the "public" and "private" instructions received by Col. Clark, for his guidance during the expedition, from Patrick Henry, Governor of Virginia, and also the "Journal" kept by Major Bowman during a portion of the campaign—the taking of Post St. Vincents—and revised by some unknown "person who was in the expedition." The manuscript of this Journal was at one time in the possession of the Historical Society of Kentucky, but has unfortunately been lost.



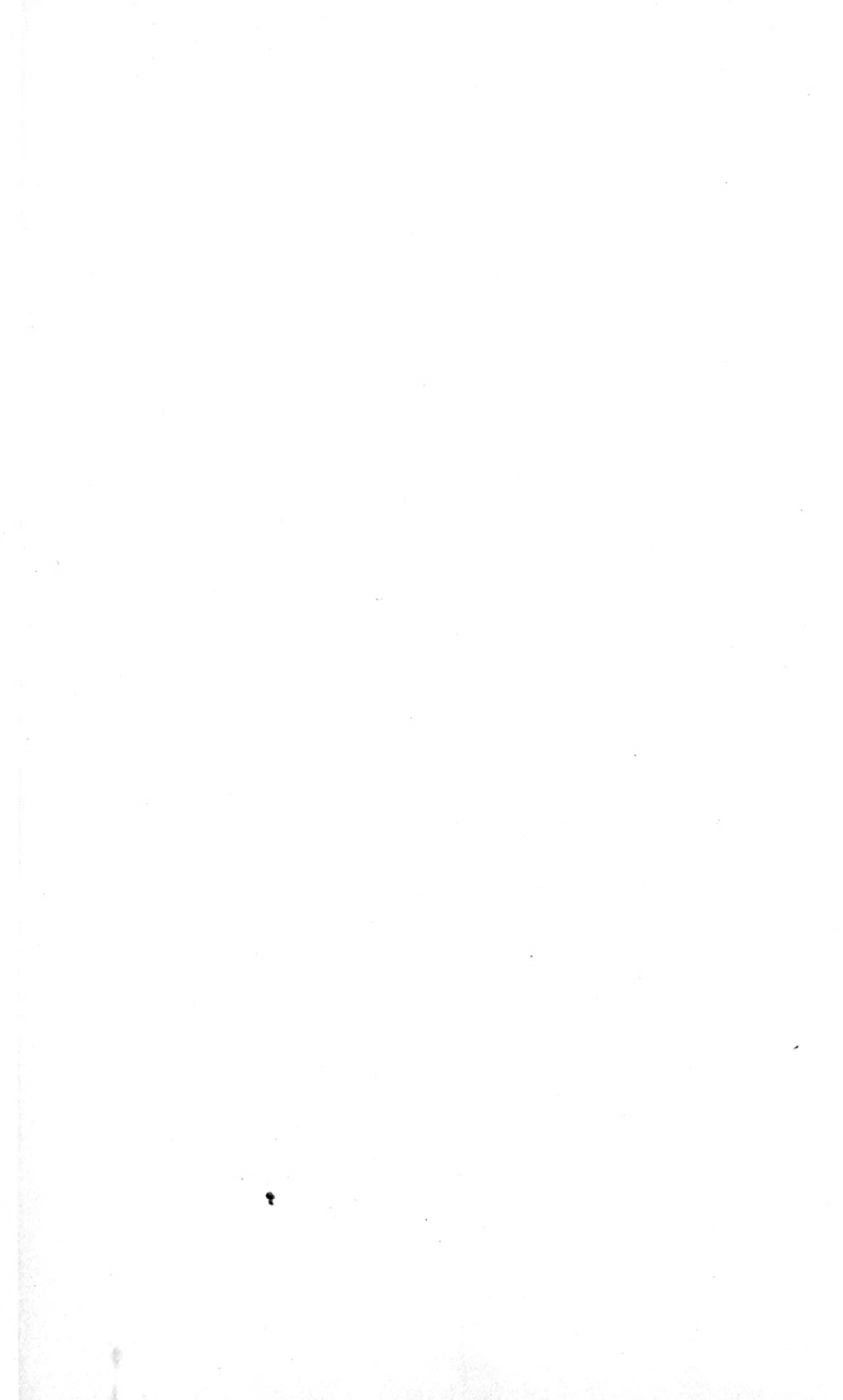
## CONTENTS.

---

<i>Introduction, by Hon. Henry Pirtle,</i>	- - -	1
<i>Biographical Sketch,</i>	- - - - -	7
<i>Letter of Col. George Rogers Clark,</i>	- - -	23

### *Appendix :*

<i>Gov. Patrick Henry's Instructions to Col. Clark,</i>	79
<i>Major Bowman's Journal,</i>	- - - - - 82
<i>Index,</i>	- - - - - 95



## INTRODUCTORY.

---

**A**LL GENERATIONS of American people will owe a debt, that can not be measured, to the memory of Colonel GEORGE ROGERS CLARK, and his brave officers and soldiers, for the results of the campaign the progress of which is so simply narrated in the ensuing pages. This is the original letter sent by Colonel — afterward General — Clark, to the illustrious revolutionary statesman, George Mason, of Virginia, his friend and patron.

On the second of January, seventeen hundred and eighty-one, the Legislature of Virginia declared in certain resolutions passed that day, that “Colonel George Rogers Clark planned and executed the secret expedition by which the British posts between the Ohio and Mississippi rivers were reduced.” In this undertaking he had not even the advice of General Washington, or of any other officer, and was at the time only twenty-five years of age. But for this conquest made by Colonel Clark for the United States—and particularly for Virginia—in the midst of the terrible struggle with England, the boundary of our land, conquered in the revolution from Great Britain, would, in all probability, have been the eastern bank of the

Ohio, or the Allegheny mountains, instead of the eastern shore of the Mississippi.\*

This whole country between the rivers, in no very definite expressions, had been transferred by France to England by the treaty of Paris, 1763, and possession rather indefinitely delivered in 1765. The people of Illinois, in 1771, demanded a government of their own by the people, as free and bold as had been claimed as an English and American principle in New England and South Carolina; and in 1772 they sent through their agent in London, Daniel Blinn, their indignant protest to Lord Dartmouth, the British Secretary, against a new government proposing to put them under the officers of the crown only. This government against which they protested, included Vincennes, which had then been settled more than seventy years. These facts are alluded to as showing the direct and sole possession and acknowledged dominion of Great Britain at the time of our revolution.

---

\*The following letter of Mr. Jefferson shows his anticipation of the importance of this expedition:

"Williamsb† \* \* \*

COL. GEO. R. CLARK,  
Sir:

Your letter and verba \* \* \* by Mr. St. Vrain was received to-day. Your w \* \* \* attended to. Much solicitude will be felt for the result of your expedition to the Wabash; it will, at least, delay their expedition to the frontier settlement, and if successful, have an important bearing ultimately in establishing our northwestern boundary.

I am, sir, your most obedient,  
TH. JEFFERSON."

---

†A portion of the letter has been torn off and lost.

Yet Spain and France both contended in the preliminary negotiations at Paris in 1782, that this great land could not be ceded to the United States, that they had no legal claim to it. Dr. Franklin, in August, this year, when engaged in these negotiations at Paris, speaking of the claim of Spain to the western country, says: "My conjecture of that court's design to coop us up within the Allegheny mountains, is now manifest. I hope Congress will insist on the Mississippi as the boundary, and the free navigation of the river from which they would exclude us."

The claim that Spain made was futile, and could not bear examination. She could not connect her claim to the Lower Mississippi with this territory. The constructive possession could not reach up so far; Clark had built Fort Jefferson below the mouth of the Ohio, and Virginia had actual possession also between the rivers. This was the pretense of Spain; in the winter of 1781, a detachment of about sixty-five Spaniards, accompanied by about the same number of Indians, took possession of a small English Fort, called St. Joseph, situated near the source of the Illinois river. They hoisted the Spanish standard, and pretended to take possession of the fort, and its dependencies, and of the river Illinois, in the name of the Spanish king. This was what the Spanish minister called a conquest: and he insisted that, if the country did not belong to the king of Spain, it did not belong to the Americans, but to the Indians.

France could make no claim: she could only dispute the claim of the colonies, or of the United States; and even this she forebore to do through her principal minister the Count de Vergennes, but Rayneval, the principal secretary of the great minister, was put forward, to make this dispute.

The negotiations at Paris in 1782, as far especially as Spain and France were concerned, were for the matters of compromises between these powers respectively and Great Britain; and they so ended as far as these three powers were concerned; and it did not matter to them how the Americans came out in these negotiations. The object in regard to the western country, was to keep it out of the hands of the United States, and then it could be set off to one or other of the three powers in consideration of something else. England was then temporizing with Spain, as the issues of these conferences between England, Spain, and France showed to every observer. How else could Spain have claimed anything in the face of Britain? But the English envoy could not pretend that it did not belong to the colonies that had set themselves up as the United States. The conquest had been fully made by Clark in 1778 and 1779; and in October, 1778, the county of Illinois was established by the General Assembly of Virginia, covering all the territory, and provision was made for its protection by reinforcements to the army of Clark; and in May, 1780, the act of October, 1778, was continued and amended, and other reinforcements ordered by Virginia. In fact, as



an almost natural result from Clark's campaign, the land between the rivers was actually under the government *de facto*, as well as *de jure*, of this country, for it could not be denied that the patent of Virginia, with some portion to other colonies, covered the whole region, so that the arms of Clark had settled the question of possession, and civil, as well as military rule, of this great territory, which now holds so many millions of people. These prominent facts were before the British minister, and before the world. He could not say, then, that this part of the land was in the power of England, any more than Virginia herself was after the battle of Yorktown; and he was too accurate a jurist to yield to any claim of Spain, or to hear the objections of France. But what would have been the judgment of Great Britain, beset by France and Spain, and looking to its own aggrandizement, as every country does, if this campaign had never been made? The force of conquest, the moving etiquette of treaties of peace, would have been lost.

But there are additional facts springing out of this conquest. The act of Congress of 1780 recommended to the several states to cede their out-lands, such as those west of the Ohio, to Congress, looking, of course, to what had been done by Clark. And the act of Virginia of October 20, 1783, about the transfer of these lands to Congress, recites the act of Congress of 1780 and the Virginia act of 1781, concerning these same lands. And Virginia, on 2d January, 1781, granted one hundred and fifty thousand acres to the officers

and soldiers of Clark, and the same act reserved land for other officers and soldiers between the rivers Scioto and Little Miami.

Now, the preliminary articles of peace and boundary had been under negotiation for months, and were signed by Oswald for England, and by Adams, Franklin, Jay, and Laurens for America, on the 30th of November, 1782, when, of course, these things had been well understood; and afterward, on the 3d of September, 1783, the definite treaty of peace and boundary was signed at Paris by Hartley for England, and Adams, Franklin, and Jay for the United States. Surely all that had followed the campaign of Colonel Clark, had been well debated and considered, and but for our holding the country under military and civil rule, as much a part of the United States as any other portion of its territory, we would have had our boundary, not the east bank of the Mississippi, but the east bank of the Ohio, or the ridge of the Alleghenies. In contemplating the depth of our gratitude, let us think whether New Orleans and St. Louis and all the great country of Louisiana would, in any reasonable probability, have been purchased of the First Consul, and come to us through Mr. Jefferson but for this campaign of Clark. No, certainly not. This magnificent country, made of this and other purchases, now extending as one with us to the north Pacific, might to this hour have been broken from us at the mountain's summit or the river's shore.

H. P.

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

---

[*The following sketch of the Life of General Clark is given in Lewis 'Collins' HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF KENTUCKY.*]

GENERAL GEORGE ROGERS CLARK, whose name is deservedly celebrated in the early history of Kentucky, and conspicuously prominent in the conquest and settlement of the whole west, was born in the county of Albemarle, in the state of Virginia, November 19, 1752. Of his early years and education, but little is known. In his youth, he engaged in the business of land surveying, which appears to have presented to the enterprising young men of that day, a most congenial and attractive field for the exercise of their energies. It is worthy of remark, that many of the most opulent and influential families of Kentucky were founded by men engaged in this pursuit. How long Clark engaged in this vocation, is unknown. He commanded a company in Dunsmore's war, and was engaged in the only active operation of the right wing of the invading army against the Indians. At the close of this war, he was offered a commission in the English service, but, upon consultation with his friends, he was induced by

the troubled aspect of the relations between the colonies and Great Britain, to decline the appointment.

In the spring of 1775, he came to Kentucky, drawn hither by that love of adventure which distinguished him through life. He remained in Kentucky during the spring and summer of this year, familiarizing himself with the character of the people and the resources of the country, until the fall, when he returned to Virginia. During this visit, he was temporarily placed in command of the irregular militia of the settlements; but whether he held a commission is not known. In the spring of the following year (1776), he again came to Kentucky, with the intention of making it his permanent home; and from this time forth, his name is closely associated with the progress of the western settlements in power and civilization.

His mind had been very early impressed with the immense importance of this frontier country to the security of the parent State of Virginia, as well as to the whole confederacy; and his reflections on this subject led him to perceive the importance of a more thorough, organized, and extensive system of public defense, and a more regular plan of military operations, than the slender resources of the colonies had yet been able to effect. With the view of accomplishing this design, he had been in Kentucky but a few months, when he suggested to the settlers the propriety of convening a general assembly of the people at Harrodstown (now Harrodsburg), to take steps

toward forming a more definite and certain connection with the government and people of Virginia than as yet existed. The immediate necessity for this movement grew out of the memorable and well known conflict between Henderson & Co. and the legislature of Virginia, relative to the disputed claim of jurisdiction over a large portion of the new territory. The excitement which arose out of this dispute, and the prevailing uncertainty whether the south side of Kentucky river appertained to Virginia or North Carolina (the latter claiming by virtue of Henderson's purchase of the Cherokees at the treaty of Wataga), added very greatly to the perplexity of the settlers, and rendered it necessary that the disposition of Virginia should be distinctly ascertained. The proposed meeting was accordingly held at Harrodstown on the 6th of June, 1776, at which Clark and Gabriel Jones were chosen members of the assembly of Virginia. This, however, was not precisely the thing contemplated by Clark. He wished that the people should appoint *agents*, with general powers to *negotiate* with the government of Virginia, and in the event that that commonwealth should refuse to recognize the colonists as within its jurisdiction and under its protection, he proposed to employ the lands of the country as a fund to obtain settlers and establish an independent State. The election had, however, gone too far to change its object when Clark arrived at Harrodstown, and the gentlemen elected, although aware that the choice could give them no seat in the legislature,

proceeded to Williamsburg, at that time the seat of government. After suffering the most severe privations in their journey through the wilderness, the delegates found, on their arrival in Virginia, that the legislature had adjourned, whereupon Jones directed his steps to the settlements on Holston, and left Clark to attend to the Kentucky mission alone.

He immediately waited on Governor Henry, then lying sick at his residence in Hanover county, to whom he stated the objects of his journey. These meeting the approbation of the governor, he gave Clark a letter to the executive council of the State. With this letter in his hand he appeared before the council, and after acquainting them fully with the condition and circumstances of the colony, he made application for five hundred weight of gunpowder for the defense of the various stations. But with every disposition to assist and promote the growth of these remote and infant settlements, the council felt itself restrained by the uncertain and indefinite state of the relations existing between the colonists and the state of Virginia, from complying fully with his demand. The Kentuckians had not yet been recognized by the legislature as citizens, and the proprietary claimants, Henderson & Co., were at this time exerting themselves to obtain from Virginia a relinquishment of her jurisdiction of the new territory. The council, therefore, could only offer to *lend* the gunpowder to the colonists as *friends*, not *give* it to them as *fellow-citizens*. At the same time they re-

quired Clark to be personally responsible for its value, in the event the legislature should refuse to recognize the Kentuckians as citizens, and in the mean time to defray the expense of its conveyance to Kentucky. Upon these terms he did not feel at liberty to accept the proffered assistance. He represented to the council that the emissaries of the British were employing every means to engage the Indians in the war; that the people in the remote and exposed stations of Kentucky might be exterminated for the want of a supply which he, a private individual, had at so much hazard sought for their relief, and that when this frontier bulwark was thus destroyed, the fury of the savages would burst like a tempest upon the heads of their own citizens. To these representations, however, the council remained deaf and inexorable; the sympathy for the frontier settlers was deep, but the assistance already offered was a stretch of power, and they could go no farther. The keeper of the public magazine was directed to deliver the powder to Clark; but having long reflected on the situation, prospects and resources of the new country, his resolution to reject the assistance on the proposed conditions, was made before he left the council chamber. He determined to repair to Kentucky, and, as he had at first contemplated, exert the resources of the country for the formation of an *independent state*. He accordingly returned the order of the council in a letter, setting forth his reasons for declining to accept their powder on these terms, and intimating his design of

applying for assistance elsewhere, adding, "*that a country which was not worth defending, was not worth claiming.*" On the receipt of this letter the council recalled Clark to their presence, and an order was passed on the 23d of August, 1776, for the transmission of the gunpowder to Pittsburg, to be there delivered to Clark or his order, for the use of the people of Kentucky. This was the first act in that long and affectionate interchange of good offices, which subsisted between Kentucky and her parent state for so many years; and obvious as the reflection is, it may not be omitted, that on the successful termination of this negotiation, hung the connection between Virginia and the splendid domain she afterward acquired west of the Allegheny mountains.

At the fall session of the legislature of Virginia, Messrs. Jones and Clark laid the Kentucky memorial before that body. They were, of course, not admitted to seats, though late in the session they obtained, in opposition to the exertions of Colonels Henderson and Campbell, the formation of the territory which now comprises the present state of that name, into the county of Kentucky. Our first political organization was thus obtained through the sagacity, influence and exertions of George Rogers Clark, who must be ranked as the earliest founder of this commonwealth. This act of the Virginia legislature first gave it form and a political existence, and entitled it under the constitution of Virginia to a representation in the as-



sembly, as well as to a judicial and military establishment.

Having obtained these important advantages from their mission, they received the intelligence that the powder was still at Pittsburg, and they determined to take that point in their route home, and bring it with them. The country around Pittsburg swarmed with Indians, evidently hostile to the whites, who would no doubt seek to interrupt their voyage. These circumstances created a necessity for the utmost caution as well as expedition in their movements, and they accordingly hastily embarked on the Ohio with only seven boatmen. They were hotly pursued the whole way by Indians, but succeeded in keeping in advance until they arrived at the mouth of Limestone creek, at the spot where the city of Maysville now stands. They ascended this creek a short distance with their boat, and concealed their cargo at different places in the woods along its banks. They then turned their boat adrift, and directed their course to Harrodstown, intending to return with a sufficient escort to insure the safe transportation of the powder to its destination. This in a short time was successfully effected, and the colonists were thus abundantly supplied with the means of defense against the fierce enemies who beset them on all sides.

The space allotted to this brief sketch, will not admit of a detailed narrative of the adventures of Major Clark after his return to Kentucky. Let it suffice to say, that he was universally looked up to

by the settlers as one of the master spirits of the time, and always foremost in the fierce conflicts and desperate deeds of those wild and thrilling days.

Passing over that series of private and solitary adventures in which he embarked after he returned from Virginia, and in which he appears to have taken a peculiar pleasure, but of which no particulars have been preserved, we shall proceed at once to notice his successful expedition against the British posts of Kaskaskia and Vincennes; one of the most important events, if we estimate it by its consequences, immediate and remote, in the early history of the west. It was at the same time marked by incidents of romantic and thrilling interest, and a striking display of the qualities of courage, perseverance, and fortitude, which bring to mind the heroic deeds of antiquity.

The war in Kentucky previous to this time had been a true *border war*, and conducted in the irregular and desultory manner incident to that kind of hostilities. Nearly all the military operations of the period resembled more the predatory exploits of those sturdy cattle-drovers and stark moss-troopers of the Scottish highlands, whose valorous achievements have been immortalized by the graphic pen of the author of *Waverly*, than the warfare of a civilized people. Every man fought pretty much "*on his own hook*," and waged the war in a fashion to suit himself. He selected his own ground, determined upon the time, place, and manner of attack, and brought the campaign

to a close whenever his own inclinations prompted. The war indeed was sustained, and its "sinews supplied," by the adventurous spirit of private individuals. The solitary backwoodsman would sharpen his hunting knife, shoulder his rifle, and provide himself with a small quantity of parched corn as a substitute for bread, and thus equipped for service, start on an expedition into the Indian country, without beat of drum or note of warning. Arrived on hostile soil, he would proceed with the caution of a panther stealing on his prey, until he reached the neighborhood of a village, when, concealing himself in the surrounding thickets, he would lie in wait until an opportunity presented of shooting an Indian and stealing a horse, when he would return to the cultivation of his farm and the ordinary pursuits of his business. Even those more ambitious enterprises which occasionally diversified this personal warfare, were the result rather of the spontaneous combination of private individuals, than of any movement by the state. The perseverance and gallantry of the backwoodsman was left to sustain itself, with little assistance from the power of Virginia, at that time engaged in the tremendous struggle of the war of Independence, which demanded all her energies and taxed all her resources. The state had not disposable means to act on so remote a frontier, nor does she appear to have been distinctly aware of the important diversion of the Indian force, which might be made by supporting the exertions of Kentucky. As little did she perceive

the rich temptations offered to her military ambition in the British posts in the west. Yet every Indian engaged on the frontier of Kentucky was a foe taken from the nearer frontier of the parent state. And in those remote and neglected garrisons of Kaskaskia, Vincennes, and Detroit, was to be found the source of those Indian hostilities which staid the advancing tide of emigration, and deluged the whole west in the blood of women and children.

These combined views, however, began to acquire weight with the Virginia statesmen, with the progress of the revolution, and the rapid increase of emigration to Kentucky; and they were particularly aided and enforced by the impressive representations of Major Clark. To his mind they had been long familiar, and his plans were already matured. He was thoroughly acquainted with the condition, relations, and resources of the country, and with that instinctive genius which stamps him as the most consummate of the western commanders, he saw at a glance the policy required to develop the nascent strength and advantages of the infant settlements. At a glance, he discovered what had so long escaped the perspicacity of the Virginia statesmen, that the sources of the Indian devastations were Detroit, Vincennes, and Kaskaskia. It was by the arms and clothing supplied at these military stations that the merciless ferocity of these blood-thirsty warriors was stimulated to the commission of those fearful ravages which "drenched the land to a mire." If they could be

taken, a counter influence would be established over the Indians, and the streams of human blood, which deluged the fields of Kentucky, would be dried up.

So strongly had the idea of reducing these posts taken possession of the mind and imagination of Major Clark, that in the summer of 1777 he dispatched two spies to reconnoiter and report their situation. On their return they brought intelligence of great activity on the part of the garrisons, who omitted no opportunity to promote and encourage the Indian depredations on the Kentucky frontier. They reported further, that although the British had essayed every art of misrepresentation to prejudice the French inhabitants against the Virginians and Kentuckians, by representing these frontier people as more shocking barbarians than the savages themselves, still there were to be seen strong traces of affection for the Americans among many of the inhabitants.

In December, 1777, Major Clark submitted to the executive of Virginia a plan for the reduction of these posts. The result was a full approbation of the scheme, and the governor and council entered into the undertaking so warmly that every preliminary arrangement was soon made.

[*We omit here Collins' sketch of the campaign in Illinois, which is more fully recorded in Col. Clark's Letter.*]

Soon after this Louisville was founded, and he made it his headquarters. In 1780 he built

Fort Jefferson, on the Mississippi. In the course of this year he led an expedition against the Indians of Ohio, the occasion of which was as follows: On the 1st of June, 1780, the British commander at Detroit assembled six hundred Canadians and Indians, for a secret expedition under Col. Byrd, against the settlements in Kentucky. This force, accompanied by two field pieces, presented itself on the 22d, before Ruddell's station, which was obliged to capitulate. Soon after Martin's station shared the same fate, and the inhabitants, loaded with the spoil of their own dwellings, were hurried off toward Canada.

A prompt retaliation was required, and when Colonel Clark called on the militia of Kentucky for volunteers to accompany his regiment against the Indians, they flocked to his standard without delay. The point of rendezvous was the mouth of Licking river, where the forces assembled. They were supplied with artillery, conveyed up the river from the Falls. When all assembled, the force amounted to nearly a thousand men. The secrecy and dispatch which had ever attended the movements of this efficient commander continued to mark his progress on this occasion. The Indian town was reached before the enemy had received any intimation of their approach. A sharp conflict ensued, in which seventeen of the savages were slain, with an equal loss on the part of the whites. The Indians then fled, the town was reduced to ashes, and the gardens and fields laid waste. Col. Clark returned to the Ohio and discharged the

militia, and the Indians, reduced to the necessity of hunting for the support of their families, gave the whites no further trouble that season.

For a long time the ever active mind of Clark had been revolving a scheme for the reduction of the British post at Detroit, and in December of the year 1780, he repaired to Richmond, to urge the government to furnish him with means to execute this long-cherished design. His views were approved, but before the necessary arrangements could be completed, a British force from New York, under Arnold, carried hostilities into the heart of the State. Clark took a temporary command under Baron Steuben, and participated in the active operations of that officer against the marauding traitor.

After several months had been spent in indefatigable efforts to raise a force of two thousand men, for the enterprise against Detroit, the several corps destined for the service were designated, and ordered to rendezvous on the 15th of March, 1781, at the falls of the Ohio, and Clark was raised to the rank of brigadier general; but unexpected and insuperable difficulties arose, and the ardent genius of the commander was confined to defensive operations. This appears to have been the turning point in the fortunes of the hardy warrior. He had set his heart on destroying the British influence throughout the whole northwestern territory. Could he have had the means which he required, his advancement in rank would no doubt have been gratifying; but without a general's com-

mand, a general's commission was of no value. Dangers and hardships would have been disregarded; but with his small force to be stationed on the frontier to repel the inroads of a few predatory bands of Indians, when he was eager to carry the war to the lakes, was more than he could bear, and it preyed upon his spirit. From this time forth his influence sensibly decreased, and the innate force and energy of his character languished and degenerated.

He was a lion chained, but he was still a lion, and so the enemy found him in 1782. When the news of the disastrous battle of the Blue Licks reached him, he took immediate measures to rouse the country from that benumbed torpor of anguish and despondency in which this great calamity had plunged it, and to carry the war once more into the enemy's country. In September, a thousand mounted riflemen assembled on the banks of the Ohio, at the mouth of Licking, and moved against the Indian towns on the Miami and Scioto. The Indians fled before them, and not more than twelve were killed or taken. Five of their towns were reduced to ashes, and all of their provisions destroyed. The effect of this expedition was such that no formidable party of Indians ever after invaded Kentucky.

In 1786 a new army was raised to march against the Indians on the Wabash, and Clark, at the head of a thousand men, again entered the Indian territory. This expedition proved unfortunate, and was abandoned.



Several years elapsed before the name of General Clark again appeared in connection with public affairs. When Genet, the French minister, undertook to raise and organize a force in Kentucky for a secret expedition against the Spanish possessions on the Mississippi, George Rogers Clark accepted a commission as major general in the armies of France, to conduct the enterprise. But, before the project was put in execution, a counter revolution occurred in France, Genet was recalled, and Clark's commission annulled. Thus terminated his public career.

General Clark was never married. He was long in infirm health, and severely afflicted with a rheumatic affection, which terminated in paralysis, and deprived him of the use of one limb. After suffering under this disease for several years, it finally caused his death in February, 1818. He died and was buried at Locust Grove, near Louisville.



## CLARK'S CAMPAIGN IN THE ILLINOIS.

---

*Louisville, Falls of Ohio, Nov. 19, 1779.*

MY DEAR SIR, continue to favour me with your valuable Lessons; Continue your Reprimands as though I was your son; when suspicious, think not that promotion or confer'd Honour will occasion any unnecessary pride in me; You have infused too many of your Valuable precepts in me to be guilty of the like, or to shew any indifference to those that ought to be dear to me; it is with pleasure that I obey in transmitting to you a short sketch of my enterprize and proceeding in the Illinois, as near as I can Recollect, or gather from memorandoms.

After disengaging myself from Kentucky, I set out for Williamsburg in Aug. 1777, in order to settle my acts. I had just Reasons known to few but myself that occasioned me to resolve not to have any farther Command whatever, without I should find a very great call for Troops and my Country in danger, in such case I was determined to loose my Life rather (*than*) we should submit. On my arrival at Town I found to appearance a friend in many gentlemen of note that offered their Interest to me in case I should offer at any Post. Many was surpris'd that I would not felicit for some Birth. I must confess that I think myself often to blame for not making use of Interest for my promotion, but to merit it first is such a fixed principal with me that I never could, and I hope never shall ask for a Post of Honour, as I think the Publick ought to be the best

Judge whether a Person deserves it or not, if he did he would certainly be Rewarded according to the Virtue they had. But finding that we were in (*an*) alarming situation, the Indians desperate on one side, the Britains on the other, I immediately Resolved to encourage an Expedition to the Illinois. But to make it publick was a certain loss of it. I propos'd the plan to a few Gentlemen, they communicated it to the Governour, it was immediately determined on, to put in Execution as soon as a Bill could be pass'd to enable the Governour to order it; it accordingly pass'd, though but a few in the House knew the real intent of it. After giving the Council all the intelligence I possibly could, I resolv'd to pursue my other Plans. But being desired by the Governour to stay some time in town, I wated with impatience, he I suppose believing that I wanted the Command, and was determined to give it to me; But it was far from my Inclination at that time. I was summoned to attend the Council-Board, the instructions and necessary papers were ready for putting in the name of the Person to Command; I believe they expected me to solicit for it, but I resolv'd not to do so, for reasons I hinted you before. However, I excepted it after being told the Command of this little Army was design'd for me. I then got every request granted, and (*was*) fully empowered to raise as many Men as I could, not exceeding a certain number,\* after being engaged I was then as Determined to prosecute it with Vigour, as I was before indifferent about the Command; I had since the beginning of the War taken pains to make myself acquainted with the true situation of the British posts on the Frontiers, and since find that I was not mistaken in my judgment. I was ordered to Attack the Illinois, in case of Success to carry my Arms to any quarter I pleased. I was certain that with

---

\* For his instructions, public and private, see Appendix.

five hundred Men I could take the Illinois, and by my treating the Inhabitants as fellow Citizens, and shew them that I ment to protect rather than treat them as a Conquered People. Engaging the Indians to our Interest, &c., It might probably have so great an effect on their Countrymen at Detroyet (they already disliked their Master) that it would be an easy prey for me. I should have mentioned my design to his Excellency, but was convinced, or afraid that it might lessen his esteem for me, as it was a general opinion that it would take several thousand to approach that Place. I was happy with the thoughts of fair prospect of undeceiving the Publick respecting their formidable Enemies on our Fronteers. I left Williamfburg January the 18th, made as quick dispatch as possible to the fronteers, and by the end of the month had Recruiting Parties disposed from Pittsburg to Carolina, had my little Army Recruited in half the time I expected.

Elevated with the thoughts of the great service we should do our Country in some measure putting an end to the Indian War on our fronteers, it may appear to you to be a mere presumption in me, but I was always too jealous of myself to be far wrong in plans that I had so long studied, and since find that I could have executed it with the greatest ease if it had not been (*the*) following Conduct of many leading Men in the fronteers, that had like to have put an end to the enterprize, not knowing my Destination, and through a spirit of obstinacy they combined and did every thing that lay in their power to stop the Men that had Enlisted, and fet the whole Fronteers in an uproar, even condescended to harbour and protect those that Deserted; I found my case desperate, the longer I remained the worse it was—I plainly saw that my Principal Design was baffled—I was resolved to push to Kentucky with what men I could gather in West Augusta; being Joined by

Capt. Bowman and Helms who had each raised a Company for the Expedition, but two thirds of them was stopt by the undefign'd Enemies to the Country that I before mentioned: In the whole I had about one hundred & fifty Men Collected and set sail for the Falls. I had previous to this received Letters from Capt. Smith on Holdston enforming me that he intended to meet me at that place with near two hundred Men, which encouraged me much as I was in hopes of being enabled by that reinforcement, at least to attack the Illinois with a probability of Success, &c.

I set out from Redstone the 12th of may leaving the Country in great confusion, much distressed by the Indians. General Hand, pleased with my intentions furnished me with every necessary I wanted and the — of may I arrived at the Canoway\* to the Joy of the Garrifson as they were very weak, & had the day before been attacked by a large body of Indians.

Being Joined by Capt. Oharrard's Company on his way to the Osark; after spending a day or two, We set out and had a very pleasant Voyage to the falls of Ohio, having sent Expresses to the Stations on Kentucky from the mouth of the River, for Capt. Smith to join me immediately as I made no doubt but that he was waiting for me; But you may easily guess at my mortification on being informed that he had not arrived, that all his Men had been stopt by the incessant labours of the populace, except part of a Company that had arrived under the Command of one Captain Delland, some on their march being threatened to be put into Prison if they did not return; this information made me as Desperate as I was before Determined.

Reflecting on the information that I had of some of my greatest opponents censuring the Governour for his Conduct,

---

\*Kanawha River.



as they thought, ordering me for the protection of Kentucky only ; that and some other secret impulses Occationed me in spite of all Council to risque the Expedition, to convince them of their error until that moment, secret to the Principal Officers I had. I was fenfible of the impreffion it would have on many, to be taken near a thoufand (*miles*) from the Body of their Country, to attack a People five times their number, and mercilefs Tribes of Indians their Allies, and determined Enemies to us.

I knew that my cafe was desperate, but the more I reflected on my weaknefs the more I was pleafed with the Enterprize. Joined by a few Kentuckians under Col. Montgomery to ftop the defertion I knew would enfue on the Troops knowing their Deftination, I had Encamped on a fmall Ifland in the middle of the Falls, kept ftrict Guards on the Boats, but Lieutenant Hutchings, of Dillard's Company, contrived to make his efcape with his party after being refufed leave to return, luckely a few of his Men was taken the next day by a party fent after them ; on this Ifland I firft began to difcipline my little Army knowing that to be the moft effential point towards fuccefs, moft of them determined to follow me, the reft feeing no probability of making their efcape I foon got that fubordination as I could wifh for ; about twenty families that had followed me much againft my Inclination I found now to be of fervice to me in guarding a Block-houfe that I had erected on the Ifland to fecure my Provisions.\*

---

\*There was at this time no settlement at the Falls, though two thoufand acres of the plain on which Louisville is built, had been patented on 16th of December, 1773, by John Connolly, a furgeon's mate in the British fervice. M'Murtrie gives the names of five of thofe who accompanied Clark and were left on Corn Ifland, James Patton, Rd. Chenowith, John Tuel, Wm. Faith and J. McManness. After Clark's

I got every thing in Readiness on the 26th of June, set off from the Falls, double Man'd our Oars and proceeded day and night until we ran into the mouth of the Tenefse River the fourth day landed on an Island to prepare ourselves for a March by Land ; a few hours after we took a Boat of Hunters but eight days from Kaskaskias ; before I would suffer them to answer any Person a question, after their taking the oath of allegiance, I examined them particularly. they were Englishmen, & appear'd to be in our Interest, their intilgence was not favourable, they asked leave to go on the Expedition, I granted it, and ordered them what to relate particularly, on pain of Suffering, they observed my instructions which put the whole in the greatest spirits ; Sure by what they heard of success, in the evening of the same day I ran my Boats into a small Creek about one mile above the old Fort Miffack ;\* Reposed our selves for the night, and in the morning took a Rout to the Northwest, and had a very fatiegueing Journey

---

departure, they removed to the main land, commenced clearings, and erected cabins. Other emigrants arrived in the spring of 1779. The town of Louisville was first laid out in 1780, by William Pope. See *Mr Murtrie's and Casseday's Histories of Louisville.*

---

\*The French commander who evacuated Fort Duquesne in October, 1758, on the approach of General Forbes, descended the Ohio river and "made a halt about forty miles from the mouth, and, on a beautiful eminence on the north bank of the river, commenced a fort, and left a detachment of one hundred men as a garrison. The post was called 'Fort Massac,' in honor of the commander, M. Massac, who superintended its construction. This was the last fort erected by the French on the Ohio, and it was occupied by a garrison of French troops until the evacuation of the country under the stipulations of the treaty of Paris. Such was the origin of Fort Massac, divested of the romance which fable has thrown around its name." *Monette's History of the Valley of the Mississippi*, Vol. 1, p. 317.



for about fifty miles, until we came into those level Plains that is frequent throughout this extensive Country. As I knew my Success depended on secrecy, I was much afraid of being discovered in these Meadows as we might be seen in many places for several miles; nothing extraordinary happened during our Route Excepting my guide\* loosing himself and not being able, as we judged by his confusion of giving a Just account of himself; It put the whole Troops in the greatest Confusion. I never in my life felt such a flow of Rage to be wandering in a Country where every Nation of Indians could raise three, or four times our Number, and a certain loss of our enterprise by the Enemy's getting timely notice. I could not bear the thoughts of returning; in short every idea of the fort put me in that passion that I did not master for some time; but in a short time after our circumstance had a better appearance, for I was in a moment determined to put the guide to Death if he did not find his way that Evening; I told him his doom, the poor fellow scared almost out of his wits, begged that I would stay a while where I was and suffer him to go and make some discovery of a Road that could not be far from us, which I would not suffer for fear of not seeing him again, but ordered him to lead on the party, that his fate depended on his success; after some little pause he begged that I would not be hard with him, that he could find the Path that Evening. He accordingly took his course, and in two hours got within his knowledge.

On the Evening of the 4th of July, we got within three miles of the Town Kaskaskias,† having a River of the same

---

\*John Saunders. *Butler's Kentucky*, p. 52.

† Kaskaskia, situated on the right bank of the Kaskaskia river, about seven miles from its junction with the Mississippi, was settled by the early French explorers a few years after the visit of La Salle, in 1683, and was the capital of the Illinois country during its occupancy by the French.

name to cross to the Town ; After making ourselves ready for anything that might happen, we marched after night to a Farm that was on the same side of the River about a mile above the Town, took the family Prisoners, & found plenty of Boats to cross in ; and in two hours Transported ourselves to the other shore with the greatest silence. I learned that they had some suspicion of being attacked and had made some preparations, keeping out Spies, but they making no discoveries, had got off their Guard. I immediately divided my little Army into two Divisions, ordered one to surround the Town, with the other I broke into the Fort, secured the Governour, Mr. Rochblave in 15 minutes had every Street secured, sent Runners through the Town ordering the People on pain of Death to keep close to their Houses, which they observ'd, and before daylight had the whole town disarmed ; nothing could exceed the Confusion these People seemed to be in, being taught to expect nothing but Savage treatment from the Americans. Giving all for lost their Lives were all they could dare beg for, which they did with the greatest fervency, they were willing to be Slaves to save their Families. I told them it did not suit me to give them an answer at that time, they repaired to their houses, trembling as if they were led to Execution ; my principal would not suffer me to distress such a number of People, except, through policy it was necessary ; A little reflection convinced me that it was my Interest to Attach them to me, according to my first Plan ; for the Town of Cohos\* & St. Vincents,† and the numerous Tribes of Indians attached to the French was yet to influence, for I was

---

\* Cahokia, an old French village, situated in the American Bottom in St. Clair county, Illinois, a few miles below St. Louis, and about sixty miles by the river above Kaskaskia.

† Now the town of Vincennes, on the Wabash river, about one

too weak to treat them any other way. I sent for all the Principal Men of the Town who came in as if to a Tribunal that was to determine their fate forever, Cursing their fortune that they were not apprised of us time enough to have defended themselves; I told them that I was sorry to find that they had been taught to harbour so base an opinion of the Americans and their Cause: Explain'd the nature of the dispute to them in as clear a light as I was capable of, it was certain that they were a Conquered People, and by the fate of War was at my mercy and that our Principal was to make those we Reduced free insted of enslaving them as they imagined, that if I could have surety of their Zeal and Attachment to the American Cause, they should immediately enjoy all the priviledges of our Government, and their property secured to them, that it was only to stop the farther effusion of Innocent Blood by the Savages under the influence of their Governour, that made them an object of our attention, &c.

No sooner had they heard this than joy sparkled in their Eyes and (*they*) fell into Transports of Joy that really surprised me; as soon as they were a little moderated they told me that they had always been kept in the dark as to the dispute between America & Britain that they had never heard any thing before but what was prejuditial and tended to infence them against the Americans, that they were now convinced that it was a Cause that they ought to Espouse; that they should be happy of an opportunity to convince me of

---

hundred and fifty miles above its mouth. The Indian village at that point was called Chip-kaw-kay. The French post was variously designated, by early writers, Post Vincennes, Post Vincent, St. Vincents, and Au Poste. The fort was called by the English, Fort Sackville. The name Vincennes was undoubtedly derived from Francois Morgan de Vinsenne, who was commandant at the post in 1735.

their Zeal and think themselves the happiest People in the World if they were united with the Americans, and beg'd that I would receive what they said as their real sentiments: in order to be more certain of their sincerity, I told them that an Oath of fidelity was required from the Citizens and to give them time to reflect on it, I should not Administer it for a few days, in the meantime any of them that chose, was at liberty to leave the Country with their families, except two or three particular Persons, that they might repair to their families and conduct themselves as usual, without any dread. The Priest,\* that had lately come from Canada had made himself a little acquainted with our dispute, (Contrary to the principal of his Brother in Canada) was rather prejudiced in favor of us. He asked if I would give him liberty to perform his duty in his Church I told him that I had nothing to do with Churches more than to defend them from Insult. That by the laws of the State his Religion had as great Privileges as any other: This seem'd to complete their happiness. They returned to their families, and in a few minutes the scene of mourning and distress, was turned to an excess of Joy, nothing else seen nor heard. Adorning the streets with flowers & Pavilions of different colours, completing their happiness by singing, &c. In mean time I prepar'd a Detachment on Horseback, under Capt. Bowman, to make a Descent on Cohos, about sixty miles up the Country; the Inhabitants told me that one of their Townsmen was enough to put me in possession of

---

\*The name of this priest was Pierre Gibault, though Clark, with his characteristic inaccuracy in spelling proper names, calls him *Jeboth*, as will be hereafter seen. Judge Law, in his "*Colonial History of Vincennes*," gives an interesting sketch of this good man, to whom, he says, "next to Clark and Vigo, the United States are indebted for the accession of the States comprised in what was the original North-Western Territory, than to any other man."

that place, by carrying the good news that the People would rejoice. however I did not altogether chuse to trust them, dispatched the Captain, Attended by a considerable number of the Inhabittants who got into the middle of the Town before they were discovered; the French Gentlemen Calling aloud to the People to submit to their happier fate, which they did with very little hesitation: A number of Indians being in Town, on hearing of the Big Knives, immediately made their Escape; In a few days the Inhabittants of the Country took the Oath subscribed by law and every Person appeared to be happy; Our friends the Spainyards, doing every thing in their power to convince me of their friendship, a Correspondance immediately commenced between the Governour and myself. Post St. Vincent, a Town about the size of Williamsburg was the next Object in my view; as the whole was apprised of me, I was by no means able to march against it, (their Governour a few months before going to Detroyet,) I was resolved if possible to win their affection which I thought myself in a fair way of doing more fully to know the sentiments of the Inhabittants about there; And to execute my Plans I pretended that I was about to send an Express to the falls of Ohio for a Body of Troops to Join me at a certain place, in order to attack it; it soon had the desired effect. Advocates immediately appear'd among the people in their behalf. Mr. Jeboth, the Priest, to fully convince me of his Attachment offered to undertake to win that Town for me if I would permit him and let a few of them go; they made no doubt of gaining their friends at St. Vincents to my Interest; the Priest told me he would go himself, and gave me to understand, that although he had nothing to do with temporal business, that he would give them such hints, in the Spiritual way, that would be very conducive to the business.

In a few days the Priest and Doctor Lefont, the Principal, with a few others set out, and a Proclamation I sent, for that purpose, and other instructions in case of success. In a few weeks they returned with intelligence agreeable to my wishes. I now found myself in possession of the whole, in a Country where I found I could do more real service than I expected, which occasioned my situation to be the more disagreeable as I wanted Men.

The greatest part of my Men was for returning, as they were no longer engaged, surrounded by numerous Nations of Savages, whose minds had been long poisoned by the English. It was with difficulty that I could support that Dignity that was necessary to give my orders that force that was necessary, but by great presents and promises I got about one hundred of my Detachment enlisted for eight months, and to colour my staying with so few Troops, I made a point of returning to the Falls, as though I had sufficient confidence in the People, hoping that the Inhabitants would remonstrate against my leaving them, which they did in the warmest terms, proving the necessity of the Troops at that place, that they were afraid if I returned the English would again possess the Country. Then seemingly by their request I agreed to stay with two Companies of Troops, and that I hardly thought, as they alleged that so many was necessary; but if more was wanted I could get them at any time from the Falls, where they were made to believe was a considerable Garrison. As soon as possible I sent off those that could not be got to stay, with Mr. Rochblanch,\* and Letters to his Excel-

---

\*Col. Clark was inclined to treat Mr. Rocheblave, the British commander, leniently, and to restore to him his slaves that had been seized as public plunder. He invited him to dine with himself and officers, with the intention of restoring them; but the violent and insulting lan-

lency letting him know my situation and the necessity of Troops in the Country. Many of the French fond of the service, the different Companies soon got compleat. I stationed Capt. Bowman at Cohos, Capt. Helms Comd. at St. Vincents Superintendant &c. Domestick affairs being partly well settled the Indian Department came next the object of my attention and of the greatest importance, my sudden appearance in their Country put them under the greatest consternation, they were generally at war against us, but the French and Spaniards appearing so fond of us confused them, they counseled with the French Traders, to know what was best to be done, and of course was advised to come and solicit for peace, and did not doubt but we might be good Friends; it may appear otherwise to You, but (*I*) always thought we took the wrong method of treating with Indians, and strove as soon as possible to make myself acquainted with the French and Spanish mode which must be preferable to ours, otherwise they could not possibly have such great influence among them; when thoroughly acquainted with it (*it*) exactly coincided with my own idea, and (*I*) resolved to follow that same Rule as near as Circumstances would permit, the Kaskaskias Peorianas & Mehegames immediately treated for peace; I sent letters and speeches by Capt. Helms to the chief of the Kickeboes and Peankehaws residing at Post St. Vincents desiring them to lay down their Tomahawk, and if they did not chuse it, to behave like Men and fight for the English as

---

guage of Mr. Rocheblave on this occasion, entirely frustrated Clark's benevolent designs. The slaves were afterward sold for five hundred pounds which was distributed among the troops for prize money.

In September, 1780, Gov. Jefferson, in a letter to General Washington, mentions a "Lieutenant Governor Rocheblave who has broken his parole and gone to New York." *Jefferson's Works*, vol. 1, p. 258.

they had done, but they would see their great father as they called him given to the Dogs to eat. (gave Harsh language to supply the want of Men ; well knowing that it was a mistaken notion in many that soft speeches was best for Indians.) But if they thought of giving their hands to the Big Knives to give their Hearts also, and that I did not doubt but after being acquainted, that they would find that the Big Knives (*were*) of better Principals than what the bad Birds, the English had taught them to believe. They received the speeches from the Captain, with another of his own, and after some Consultation they resolved to take the Big Knives by the hand and came to a conclusion of Peace, And said the Americans must be Warriors and no deceivers, or they would never have spoke as they did ; that they liked such People, and that the English was Liers and they would listen to them no longer ; that by what they had heard the Big Knives, The Indians had as great a right to fight the English as they had, that they was convinced that it was the truth. What they here alluded to was, part of the speech that I had sent to them, explaining to them the nature of the War in the following manner : That a great many Years ago, our forefathers lived in England, but the King oppressed them in such a manner that they were obliged to Cross the great Waters to get out of his way. But he not being satisfied to loose so many subjects sent Governours and Soldiers among them to make them obey his Laws, but told his Governours to treat them well and to take but little from them until they grew Populus, that then they would be able to pay a great deal ; By the good treatment we got, we grew to be a great People and flourished fast. The King then wrote to his Governour & Officers that we had got Rich and numerous enough, that it was time to make us pay tribute, that he did not care how much they took, so as they



left us enough to eat, and that he had sent them a great many Soldiers to make the Americans pay if they refused, that when they had made the Americans do as they pleased, they would then make the Indians pay likewise; But for fear the Indians should find it out by the Big Knives, that the English intended to make them also pay, & should get mad with the English for their treatment of their Neighbours the Big Knives, that they, his Governours should make us quarrel, &c. We bore their Taxes for many Years, at last they were so hard that if we killed a Deer they would take the Skin away and leave us the Meat, and made us buy Blankets with Corn to feed their Soldiers with. By such usage we got Poor and was obliged to go naked; And at last we complained. The King got mad and made his Soldiers Kill some of our People and Burn some of our Villages. The Old Men then held a great Council and made the Tomahawk very sharp and put it into the hand of the Young Men, told them to be strong & Strike the English as long as they could find one on this Island. They immediately struck and Killed a great many of the English. The French King hearing of it sent to the Americans and told them to be strong and fight the English like Men, that if they wanted help or Tomahawks he would furnish them, &c., &c.

This speech had a greater effect than I could have imagined, and did more service than a Regiment of Men could have done.

It was with astonishment that (*we*) viewed the Amazing number of Savages that soon flocked into the Town of Cohos to treat for peace, and to hear what the Big Knives had to say, many of them 500 miles distant, Chipoways, Ottoways, Petawatomes, Missesogies, Puans, Sacks, Foxes, Sayges, Tauways, Mawmies and a number of other Nations, all living east of the Mississippi, and many of them at War against us.

I muſt confeſs that I was under ſome apprehenſion among ſuch a number of Devils, and it proved to be juſt for the ſecond or third night, a party of Puans & others endeavoured to force by the Guards into my Lodgings to Bear me off; but was happily Detected and made Priſoners by the elacricity of the Sergeant. The Town took the alarm and was immediately under Arms, which convinced the Savages that the French were in our Intereſt.

I was determined to follow the Principal that I had ſet out upon, let the conſequence be what it would. I immediately ordered the Chiefs to be put in Irons by the French Militia. They inſiſted that it was only to ſee whether the French would take part with the Americans or not, that they had no ill Deſign; this treatment of ſome of the greateſt Chiefs among them occaſioned great confuſion among the reſt of the Savages. The Priſoners, with great ſubmiſſion, celicited to ſpeak to me, but was refuſed. They then made all the intereſt they poſſibly could amongſt the other Indians, (who was much at a loſs what to do as there was Strong Guards through every quarter of the Town), to get to ſpeak to me; but I told the whole that I believed they were a ſet of Villians, that they had Joined the Engliſh, and they were welcome to continue in the Cauſe they had eſpouſed, that I was a Man and a Warriar, that I did not care who was my Friends or Foes; and had no more to ſay to them: Such conduct Alarmed the whole Town: but I was ſenſible that it would gain us no more Enemies than we had already, and if they after ſelicited for terms, that it would be more ſincere, and probably have a laſting good effect on the Indian Nations; diſtruſt was viſible in the Countenance of almoſt every Perſon during the latter part of the day. To ſhew the Indians that I diſregarded them, I remained in my Lodging in the Town,

about one hundred Yards from the Fort seemingly without a Guard, but I kept about fifty Men concealed in a Parlour adjoining, and the Garrison under Arms; there was great Counciling among the Savages during the Night. But to make them have the greater idea of my Indifferency about them, I assembled a Number of Gentlemen & Ladies, and danced nearly the whole Night. In the morning I summoned the different Nations to a grand Council, and the Chiefs under guard (*were*) released, and invited to Council, that I might speak to them in the presence of the whole. After the common Cerimonies was over, I produced a Bloody Belt of wampom, and spoke to them in the following manner: I told the Chief that was Guilty, that I was sensible their Nation was engaged in favour of the English, and if they thought it right, I did not blame them for it, and exhorted them to behave like Men and support the Cause they had undertaken; that I was sensible that the English was weak and wanted help; that I scorned to take any advantage of them by Persuading their friends to desert them; that there was no people but Americans, but would put them to death for their late behaviour; That it convinced me of their being my Enemies. But it was beneath the Character of Americans to take such revenge, that they were at their Liberty to do as they pleas'd, But to behave like Men, and not do any mischief until three days after they left the town, that I should have them escorted safe out of the Village, and after that expiration of time, if they did not choose to return and fight me, they might find Americans enough by going farther. That if they did not want their own Women and Children massacred, they must leave off killing ours and only fight Men under Arms, which was commendable; that there was the War Belt, We should soon see which of us would make it the most Bloody, &c.

Then told them that it was customary among all Brave Men to treat their Enemies well when assembled as we were, that I should give them Provisions & Rum while they staid, but by their behaviour I could not conceive that they deserved that appellation, and I did not care how soon they left me after that day. I observed that their Countenances and attitude favoured my real design; the whole looked like a parcel of Criminals. The other Nations rose and made many submissive Speeches excusing themselves for their conduct in a very pretty manner, and (*there was*) something noble in their sentiments (their talk I inclose), they alledged that they were persuaded to War by the English, and made to harbour a wrong opinion of the Americans, but they now believed them to be Men and Warriors, and could wish to take them by the hand as Brothers; that they did not speak from their lips only, but that I should hereafter find that they spoke from their Hearts, and that they hoped I would pity their blindness and their Women and Children; and also solicited for their Friends that had been Guilty of the late crime. I told them that I had instructions from the Great Man of the Big Knives not to ask Peace from any People but to offer Peace and War, and let them take their Choice, except a few of the worst Nation to whom I was to grant no Peace, for as the English could fight us no longer he was afraid our Young Warriors would get rusty without they could get somebody to fight, &c. I presented them with a Peace & War Belt, and told them to take their choice excepting those who had been Imprisoned. they, with a great deal of seeming Joy took the Belt of Peace. I told them I would defer Smokeing the Peace Pipe until I heard that they had called in all their Warriors, and then we would conclude the Treaty with all the Ceremony necessary for so important Occasion. they immediately solicited for

some Persons to go with them to be witnesses of their Conduct, and hoped that I would favour their Guilty Friends, which I refused; and was pleased to see them set trembling as Persons frightened at the apprehension of the worst fate. Their speaker then rose and made a most lamentable speech, such as I could have wished for: Begging Mercy for their Women and Children: for the French Gentlemen whom they put the greatest confidence in had given them lessons that favour'd my Purpose: I recommended it to them to go to their father the English, as he had told them that he was Strong perhaps he might help them as he had promised; that they could blame no Person but themselves when their Nation should be given with the English to the Dogs to eat. When they had tried their Eloquence to no purpose, they pitched on two Young Men for to be put to death as an attonement for the rest hoping that would passify me; It would have surprised You to have seen how submissively those two Young Men presented themselves for Death, advancing into the middle of the floor, setting down by each other and covering their heads with their Blankets to receive the Tomahawk (Peace was what I wanted with them, if I got it on my own terms.) but this stroke Prejudiced me in their favour, and for a few moments (*I*) was so adjutated that I don't doubt but that I should without reflection (*have*) killed the first man that would have offered to have offered to have hurt them; My wishes respecting this Treaty were now compleat; And I since find no room to blame myself for any omission in what followed in the Treaty; which time has already proved the good effects of it throughout the Illinois Country.

Our influence now began to spread among the Nations even to the Border of the Lakes. I sent Agents into every Quarter. I continued about five weeks in the Town of Cohos;

in which time I had settled a Peace with ten or twelve different Nations.

Being much fatigued, I returned to Kaskaskias, leaving Major Bowman to act in which he did himself much Honour. An intimacy had commenced between Don Leybrau,\* Lieut. Governor of Western Illinois and myself; he omitted nothing in his Power to prove his Attachment to the Americans with such openness as left no room for a doubt; as I was never before in company with any Spanish Gent I was much surprised in my expectations; for instead of finding that reserve thought peculiar to that Nation, I here saw not the least symptoms of it, freedom almost to excess gave the greatest pleasure; at my return to Kaskaskias I found everything as well as I could have expected. Having so far fixed matters as to have a moment's Leisure, which was taken up with deeper Reflections than I ever before was Acquainted with. My situation and weakness convinced me that more depended on my own Behaviour and Conduct, than all the Troops that I had far removed from the Body of my Country: situated among French, Spaniards, and Numerous Bands of Savages on every quarter: Watching my actions, ready to receive impressions favourable or not so of us, which might be hard to remove, and would perhaps produce lasting good, or ill effects. It was now that I saw my work was only begun, maturely examining every circumstance of my past Actions fixing such Resolutions, that in case of misfortune or loss of Interest, it should be for want of Judgment only. Strict subordination among the Troops was my first object, and (I) soon effected it. It being a matter of the greatest consequence to Persons in our situation. Our Troops being all Raw and undisciplined

---

\* Don Francisco de Leyba, Spanish Lieutenant Governor of Upper Louisiana.

You muſt (*be*) ſenſible of the pleaſure I felt when haranguing them on Parade. Telling them my Reſolutions, and the neceſſity of ſtrict duty for our own preſervation, &c. For them to return me for Anſwer, that it was their Zeal for their Country that induced them to engage in the Service, that they were ſenſible of their ſituation and Danger; that nothing could conduce more to their ſafety and happineſs, than good order, which they would try to adhere to, and hoped that no favour would be ſhewn thoſe that would neglect it. In a ſhort time perhaps no Garrifſon could boaſt of better order, or a more Valuable ſet of Men. By this time the Engliſh party at Detroit, finding their influence among the Savages abateing, ſent out meſſengers through the different Nations as far as they dare venture. Redoubled their Preſents and inſinuations to little purpoſe, as I had a Number of Perſons well acquainted with the Indians ſpread through the whole that had treated with me, and Spies continually in and about Detroit for a conſiderable time.

One of the Britiſh Agents, reſiding at Oueaugh\*, about eighty Leagues above St. Vincents hurt our Growing intereſts much, the Indians in that quarter being inclin'd to deſert the Britiſh Intereſt, but in ſome meaſure kept from their good intention by that Perſon. I reſolved if poſſible to take him off, and ſent a Detachment of Men from Kaskaskias under the command of Lieut. Bailey, to join Capt. Helms at St. Vincents and if poſſible ſurpriſe him; the Captain, with about one hundred Men in number, part french Militia and Indians, ſet out by water. The Agent hearing of it collected a few Savages from the neighbourhood that he could truſt in order to give

---

\* Ouatenon, a French ſettlement on the Wabash, at the mouth of the Wea (*Oueaugh*) a ſhort diſtance below where the town of Lafayette now ſtands.

Battle (the Indians in general Neutrals) but a few days before the Captain's arrival Mr. Celeron thought proper to make his Escape, leaving his friendly Indians in the Fort, who being Assembled in a Grand Council to determine what was best to be done, neglecting to shut the Gate or keep Sentinals (not supposing the enemies to be so near) in the hith of their deliberation Capt. Helms, Bayley, and his small Party entered the Fort and ordered them to surrender before they were apprised, About forty in number being made Prisoners, the Capt. made a valuable Treaty; Gave them their Liberty. this stroke compleated our Interest on the Wabache.

St. Vincents being a Post of great importance, and not being able to spare many Men to Garrisson it I took uncommon pains intirely to Attach them to our Interest as well as the Inhabitants of the Illinois. Knowing no other kind of Government than what might be expected from the lust of Power, Pride and Avarice of the Officers Commanding in that Country, Whose will was a Law to the whole and certain destruction to disobey the most trifling Command. Nothing could have been more to my Advantage, as I could temper the Government as I pleased, and every new priviledge appeared to them as fresh Lawrels to the American Cause.

I by degrees laid aside every unnecessary Restriction they laboured under. As I was convinced that it was the mercenary views of their former Governours that Etablissemented them, paying no regard to the happiness of the People, and those Customs Strictly observed that was most conducive to good order; I made it a Point to guard the happiness and Tranquility of the Inhabitants supposing that their happy change reaching the ears of their Brothers and Countrymen on the Lakes and about Detroit, would be paving my way to that Place; and (*have*) a good Effect on the Indians. I soon found it had the desired Effect; for the greatest part of the



French Gen<sup>t</sup> and Traders among the Indians declared for us, many Letters of Congratulation, (*were*) sent from Detroit to the Gen<sup>t</sup> of the Illinois, which gave me much Pleasure.

I let slip no opportunity, in Cultivating our growing Interest in every Quarter where there was the least appearance of a future advantage; and had as great Success as I had any right to expect. Great tranquility appeared on every countenance, being apprehensive that the British Party at Detroit finding it hard to regain their lost Interest among the Savages would Probably make a Descent on the Illinois if they found themselves Capitulated, for fear of their finding out our Numbers, (parties of Men coming & going from Kentucky and other places, Recruits, &c.) I suffered no Parade except the Guards for a considerable time, and took every other precaution to keep every Person ignorant of our numbers, which was generally thought to be nearly double what we really had; I found that my Ideas, respecting the movement of the English just, having certain Accounts by our Spies that Governour Hammlton was on his march from Detroit with a Considerable Party, taking his Rout up the Meamies river. In a few days receiving certain intelligence that General McIntosh had left Pittsburg for Detroit with a Considerable Army. Knowing the weakness of the Fortification of that Post at that time their numbers, etc., I made no doubt of its being shortly in our Possession. And that Governour Hambleton, Sensible that there was no Probability of his defending the Fort, had marched with his whole force to encourage the Indians to Harass the General on his March; as the only probable Plan to stop him, little thinking that He had returned, and that Mr. Hambleton had the same design on me, that I supposed he had at General McIntosh. It being near Christmas we feasted ourselves with the hopes of immediately hearing from Detroit, and began to think that we had been neglected in an express

not being sent with the Important news of its being ours. But a circumstance soon hapned that convinced us that our hopes was vain. A young man at the Town of Cohos holding a Correspondance and sending Intiligence to Governour Hambleton's Party was Detected & punished accordingly. By which we Learned the return of General McIntosh, and Governour Hambleton's Intentions on the Illinois, But not so fully expressed in the latter as to reduce it to a certainty; but supposing that in case of its being true they would make their first Descent on Kaskaskias, It being the strongest Garriſſon and head Quarters. I kept Spies on all the Roads to no Purpose Mr. Hamilton having the Advantage of Descending the Oubach and with eight hundred Men French, Indians and Regulars, took possession of Post St. Vincents on the 17th day of December,\* he had Parties on the Road that took some of our Spies. Hard weather immediately setting in I was at a loss to know what to do, many supposed that he had Quit his design and came no farther than Ome.† But no Intiligence from St. Vincents, I was still under some doubt of his being there, except the Com<sup>d</sup> had kept back the Express on account

---

\*When Governor Hamilton entered Vincennes, there were but two Americans there—Capt. Helm, the commandant, and one Henry. The latter had a cannon well charged, and placed in the open fort gate, while Helm stood by it with a lighted match in his hand. When Hamilton and his troops got within good hailing distance, the American officer, in a loud voice, cried out: "Halt!" This stopped the movements of Hamilton, who, in reply, demanded a surrender of the garrison. Helm exclaimed with an oath: "No man shall enter until I know the terms." Hamilton answered: "You shall have the honors of war;" and then the fort was surrendered, with its garrison of *one officer and one man.*"—*Cutler's History of Kentucky*, p. 80.

†Ome, a corruption of *Aux Miamis*, an Indian village at the confluence of the St. Joseph's and St. Mary's rivers, on the site of the present city of Fort Wayne, Indiana.

of the High waters. In this situation we remain'd for many Days. I intended to evacuate the Garriffon of Cohos in case of a Siege; But was anxious to have a Conference with the Principal Inhabitants that I knew to be Zealous in our Interest, to fix on certain Plans for their Conduct when in possession of the English, if it should be the case; And set out on the — day of January, 1779, for that Town, with an Intention of staying but a few days. Mr. Hammlton in mean time had sent a party of 40 Savages headed by white Men from St. Vincent in order if possible to take me Prisoner, and gave such Instructions for my treatment as did him no dishonour. This party lay conceal'd keeping a small Party near the Road to see who Passed; they lay by a small Branch about three miles from Kaskaskias, there being Snow on the Ground. I had a Guard of about six or seven Men and a few Gentlemen in Chairs, one of them swampt within one hundred Yards of the Place where these fellows lay hid, where we had to delay upwards of an hour. I believe nothing here saved me, but the Instruction they had not Kill me, or the fear of being overpowered, not having an opportunity to Alarm the main Body, (which lay half a mile off,) without being discovered themselves. We arrived safe at the Town of Lapraryderush,\* about twelve miles above Kaskaskias. The Gentlemen and Ladies immediately assembled at a Ball for our Entertainment; we spent the fore part of the night very agreeably, but about 12 o'clock there was a very sudden change by an Express Arriving informing us that Governour Hammlton was within three miles of Kaskaskias with eight hundred Men, and was determined to attack the Fort that

---

\* La Prairie du Rocher, an old French village, in Randolph county, on the American Bottom, near the Rocky Bluffs, from which it derives its name, fourteen miles north-west of Kaskaskia.

night; which was expected would be before the Express got to me, for it seems that those fellows were discovered by a hunter and after missing their aim on me, discovered themselves to a Party of Negroes and told them a story as suited their Purpose. I never saw greater confusion among a small Assembly than was at that time, every Person having their eyes on me, as if my word was to determine their good or Evil fate. It required but a moment's hesitation in me to form my Resolution, Communicated them to two of my Officers who accompany<sup>d</sup> me, which they Approved of. I ordered our Horses Saddled in order if possible to get into the Fort before the attack could be made. Those of the Company that had recovered their surprise so far as to enable them to speak, begged of me not to attempt to Return, that the Town was certainly in possession of the Enemy & the Fort warmly attacked. Some proposed Conveying me to the Spanish Shore, some one thing and some another. I thanked them for the Care they had of my Person, and told them it was the fate of War, that a good Soldier never ought to be afraid of his Life where there was a Probability of his doing service by venturing of it which was my Case. That I hoped that they would not let the news Spoil our Diversion sooner than was necessary, that we would divert ourselves until our horses was ready, forced them to dance, and endeavoured to appear as unconcerned as if no such thing was in Adjutation. This conduct inspired the Young Men in such a manner that many of them was getting their Horses to Share fate with me. But chusing to loose no time as soon as I could write a few lines on the back of my Letter to Captain Bowman at Cohos, I set out for Kaskaskias; each Man (*took*) a Blanket, that in case the Fort was attacked, we were to wrap ourselves in them fall in with the Enemies fire at the Fort until we had an opportunity of getting so near as to give the

proper signals, knowing that we would be let in. But on our Arrival we found everything as calm as we could expect. The weather being bad, it was then thought the Attack would not commence until it cleared up. But no Person seem'd to doubt of the Enemies being at hand, and from many circumstances I could not but Suppose it was the case, that they defer'd the Attack for some time in order to give us time to Retreat, which I supposed they wou'd rather chuse by their proceedings; But I was determined that they should be disappointed if that was their wishes. There was no time lost during the Night, putting everything in as good order as Possible. The Priest, of all Men the most affraid of Mr. Hammlton, he was in the greatest consternation, determined to Act agreeable to my Instruction. I found by his Consternation that he was sure the Fort would be taken, Except Reinforced by the Garrisson at Cohos which I did not chuse to let him know would be the case although I knew him, to be a Zealous Friend. I pretended that I wanted him to go to the Spanish side with Publick Papers and Money, the Proposition pleas'd him well, he immediately started & getting into an island the Ice passing so thick down the Mississippi, that he was obliged to Encamp three days in the most obscure part of the island with only a Servant to attend him.

I spent many serious reflections during the night. The Inhabitants had always appear'd to be attached to us but I was convinced that I should in the morning have a Sufficient trial of their fidelity (several of their Young Men had turned into the Fort in order to defend it) but Sensible at the same time that in case they took Arms to defend the Town that the whole would probably be lost, as I should be obliged to give the Enemy Battle in the Commons. I would have chose to have had those without families to Reinforce the Garrisson, and the rest to have lain Neuter.

I resolv'd to burn part of the Town that was near the Fort and Guard it, as I knew the greatest service we possibly could do was to Sell the Fort as Dear as possible, there being no probability of escaping after attack, or expectation of Reinforcements, as we were too far detached from the Body of our Country. The only probable chance of safety was Captain Bowman's joining me which I expected the next evening down the Mississippi, to defend ourselves until Mr. Hamilton's Indians got tired and returned in four or five Weeks which I expected the greatest Part would do if they had not that Success that they expected. I had no occasion to consult the Garrisson in any Resolution I should fix upon as I knew they was all as Spirited as I could wish them to be, and took pains to make them as desperate as possible. If You rightly Consider our Situation & Circumstance You must conceive it to be desperate; in the morning the first thing I did was to assemble all the Inhabitants in order to know their Resolutions; as they had been the night Counciling with each other they expected some orders Issued which I did not chuse to do; at the Assembly I asked them what they thought of doing, whether they would endeavour to defend the Town or not; if they did I would Quit the Fort leaving a Small Guard, and head them with the Troops; and if the Enemy lay until the weather Broke, we might probably in the mean time discover their Camp and get some advantage of them. They appear'd to be in great confusion, and all my fear was, that they would agree to defend themselves, and if the Enemy was as numerous as was expected, the whole would be lost. But I need not have been uneasy about that, for they had too maturely studied their own Interest to think of fighting, which they certainly would have done if I had only as many Troops as would have given any Probability of success: they displaid their situation in such a manner as was really moving and with great truth.

But denied to Act either on one side or the other; And begged that I would believe them to be in the American Interest. But my whole force joined with them would make but a poor figure against so considerable a Party and gave hints that they could wish us to take Spanish Protection as they could not conceive we could keep possession a Single day as the Enemy would immediately set the adjacent Houses on fire which would fire the Fort (not knowing that I intended to Burn them myself as soon as the wind shifted.) I very seldom found but I could govern my temper at pleasure, But this declaration of theirs and some other Circumstances put me in a most violent Rage, and as soon as I could curb my Passion gave a Lecture suitable for a set of Traitors (although I could not conceive the whole of them to be such), I ordered them out of the Garrison, and told them that I no longer thought they deserved favour from me, that I consequently must conceive them to be my secret Enemies and should treat them as such. They endeavoured to sooth me into pity, but to have listened to them would have destroyed my intention. I determined to make myself appear to them as desperate as Possible that it might have a Greater effect on the Enemy, (they asked me to issue an order for all the Provision in the Town to be brought into the Fort immediately, by which I was convinced that it was their desire that I should be able to stand the Siege as long as Possible, and only wanted an excuse to the Person they expected every moment to be their Master, for making the supplies) I told them that I would have all the Provisions and then Burn the Town to the Enemies hand: that they might send the Provisions if they chose it, and sent them out of the Fort: and immediately had fire set to some out Houses. Never was a set of People in more distress, their Town set on fire by those they wished to be in friendship with, at the same time Surrounded by the Savages, as they expected, from whom they

had but little else but destruction to expect. The Houses being covered with Snow, the fire had no effect only on those it was set to, the Inhabitants looking on without daring to say a word. I told them that I intended to set fire to all those that had much Provision for fear of the Enemy's getting it. They were not in so great a Leathergy, but they took the hint and before night they brought in six months Provisions of all forts; by which they were in hopes to come on better Terms; but a fresh circumstance Alarmed them. One of the Inhabitants Riding into the Field, met a Man that told him he saw a party of the Enemy going on the Island to take the Priest, he, returning to Town met the Priest's Brother in Law and told him what he had heard, and begged of him not to tell me of it, the Poor fellow half scared to death about his Brother, made all haste and told me. I took his Evidence, sent for the Citizen, who could not deny it.

I immediately ordered him hanged. The Town took the Alarm, hafted about the walls of the Fort, if possible to save their Friend. The Poor fellow given up to the Soldiers who dragged him to the place of Execution, each striving to be foremost in the Execution as if they thirsted after Blood; some was for Tomahawking him, some for hanging & others for Burning: they got to quarreling about it, which at last saved his life; the Inhabitants having time to supplicate in his favour, but nothing would have saved his life but the appearance of his Wife and seven small Children, which sight was too moving not to have granted them the life of their Parent on terms that put it out of his power to do any damage to me. The weather clearing away Capt. Bowman Arrived the following day with his own and a comp<sup>y</sup> of Volunteers from Cohos; we now began to make a tolerable appearance and seemed to defy the Enemy: and sent out Spies on every quarter to make discovery of them, hoping we might get some Advantage



of them, chusing for many important Reasons to attack them two to one in the field rather than suffer them to take possession of the Town, which by the form and manner of picqueting, the Yards and Gardens was very Strong. I was convinced that the Inhabitants now wished that they had behaved in another manner. I took the advantage of the favourable opportunity to Attach them intirely in my Interest, and instead of Treating them more severe as they expected on my being Reinforced, I altered my conduct towards them and treated them with the greatest kindness, granting them every request, my influence among them, in a few hours was greater than ever; they condemning themselves and thought that I had treated them as they deserved; and I believe, had Mr. Hammilton appear'd we should have defeated him with a good deal of ease not so numerous but the Men being much better. Our spies returning, and found the great Army that gave the alarm consisted only of about forty Whites and Indians making their Retreat as fast as possible to St. Vincents; sent for no other purpose, as we found after than to take me. We were now sensible that St. Vincents was in possession of the English; and consequently we might shortly expect an Attack though no danger at present, and had some time to make preparation for what we were certain of. I had reason to expect a Reinforcement on the presumption that Government ordered one on the Receipt of my first Letter; still encouraged each other and hoped for the best: But suffered more uneasiness than when I was certain of an immediate attack, as I had more time to reflect; the Result of which was that the Illinois in a few months would be in possession of the English except the Garrison which I knew would not be disposed to surrender without the greatest distress. I sent off Horsemen to St. Vincents to take a Prisoner by which we might get intelligence, but found it impracticable on account of the high waters;

but in the hight of our anxiety on the evening of the 29th of January, 1779, Mr. Vague\* a Spanifh merchant, arrived from St. Vincents, and was there the time of its being taken, and gave me every intilgence that I could wifh to have Governor Hamilton's Party confifted of about eight hundred when he took poffeffion of that Poft on the 17th day of december paft: finding the Seafon too far fpent for his intention againft Kaskaskias had fent nearly the whole of his Indians out in different Parties to War: But to embody as foon as the weather would Permit and compleat his defign: He had alfo fent meffengers to the fouthern Indians, five hundred of whom he expected to join him only eighty Troops in Gar-

---

\* Col. Francis Vigo, a Spanish merchant at St. Louis, connected in business with the Governor of Upper Louisiana, as soon as he heard of Clark's arrival at Kaskaskia, went to him and tendered him his means and influence, which were joyfully accepted. At the suggestion of Col. Clark he started with a single servant to Vincennes, to learn the actual state of affairs there. He was, however, seized at the river Embarrass and taken before Gov. Hamilton, who released him on parole on condition that he would report himself daily at the fort. After some days at the earnest solicitation of the inhabitants of the town by whom Vigo was greatly respected, Gov. Hamilton offered to release him altogether if he would sign an article "not to do any act during the war injurious to the British interests." This he positively refused to do; but he was finally released on agreeing "not to do anything injurious to the British interests *on his way to St. Louis*. He went in a piroque down the Wabash and Ohio and up the Mississippi to St. Louis, thus keeping the *letter* of his bond, but he had no sooner set foot at St. Louis, than he re-embarked and hastened to Kaskaskia, where he arrive'd on the 29th of January, 1779, and furnished Col. Clark with, as he says, "every intelligence I could wish to have." See *Law's Colonial History of Vincennes*, p. 26. Col. Vigo finally settled at Vincennes, where he was still (1834) living at the advanced age of eighty-six, "a venerable and highly-respected citizen." *Buller's History of Kentucky*; p. 80.

riffon, (our Situation still appear'd desperate, it was at this moment I would have bound myself seven years a Slave, to have had five hundred Troops) I saw the only probability of our maintaining the Country was to take the advantage of his present weakness, perhaps we might be fortunate: I considered the Inclemency of the season, the badness of the Roads, &c., as an advantage to us, as they would be more off their Guard on all Quarters. I collected the Officers, told them the probability I thought there was of turning the scale in our favour. I found it the sentiment of every one of them and eager for it. Our Plans immediately concluded on, and sent An Express to Cohos for the Return of Capt. McCarty & his Volunteers, and set about the necessary preparations in order to Transport my Artillery Stores, &c.

I had a Large Boat prepared and Rigged, mounting two four pounders 4 large swivels Manned with a fine Comp commanded by Lieut. Rogers. She set out in the evening of the 4th of January, (? *Feb'y*) with orders to force her way if possible within ten Leagues of St. Vincents and lay until further Orders. This Vessel when compleat was much admired by the Inhabitants as no such thing had been seen in the Country before. I had great Expectations from her. I conducted myself as though I was sure of taking Mr. Hamilton, instructed my officers to observe the same Rule. In a day or two the Country seemed to believe it, many anxious to Retrieve their Characters turned out, the Ladies, began also to be spirited and interest themselves in the Expedition, which had great effect on the Young Men.

By the 4th day of January (? *Feb'y*) I got every thing Compleat and on the 5th I marched being joined by two Volunteer companies of the Principal Young Men of the Illinois Commanded[by Capt. McCarty and Frances Charlaville. Those

of the troops was Captains Bowman\* & William Worthingtons of the light Horse, we were Conducted out of the Town by the Inhabitants and Mr. Jeboth the Priest, who after a very suitable Discourse to the purpose, gave us all Absolution, And we set out on a Forlorn hope indeed; for our whole Party with the Boats Crew consisted of only a little upwards of two hundred. I cannot account for it but I still had inward assurance of success, and never could when weighing every Circumstance doubt it: But I had some secret check. We had now a Rout before us of two hundred and forty miles in length, through, I suppose one of the most beautiful Country in the world, but at this time in many parts flowing with water and exceeding bad marching. my greatest care was to divert the Men as much as possible in order to keep up their spirits; the first obstruction of any consequence that I met with was on the 13th, Arriveing at the two little Wabachees although three miles asunder they now make but one, the flowed water between them being at Least three feet deep, and in many places four: Being near five miles to the opposite Hills, the shallowest place, except about one hundred Yards, was three feet. This would have been enough to have stoped any set of men that was not in the same temper that we was.

But in three days we contrived to cross, by building a large Canoe, ferried across the two Channels, the rest of the way we waded; Building scaffolds at each to lodge our Baggage on until the Horses Crossed to take them; it Rained nearly a third of our march, but we never halted for it; In the evening of the 17th we got to the low Lands of the River Umbara,† which we found deep in water, it being nine miles

---

\*For Captain Bowman's journal of this expedition, see Appendix.

†The Embarrass river enters the Wabash on the west, a little below Vincennes—course southeast.

to St. Vincents, which stood on the East side of the Wabache and every foot of the way covered with deep water; we Marched down the little River in order to gain the Banks of the main, which we did in about three Leagues, made a small Canoe and sent an Express to meet the Boat and hurry it up; from the spot we now lay on (*it*) was about ten miles to Town, and every foot of the way put together that was not three feet and upwards under water would not have made the length of two miles and half, and not a mouthful of Provision; to have waited for our Boat, if possible to avoid it, would have been Impolitic. If I was sensible that you would let no Person see this relation, I would give You a detail of our suffering for four days in crossing those waters, and the manner it was done, and I am sure that You wou'd Credit it, but it is too incredible for any Person to believe except those that are as well acquainted with me as You are, or had experienced something similar to it. I hope you will excuse me until I have the pleasure of seeing you personally. But to our inexpressible Joy, in the evening of the 23d we got safe on Terra firma within half a League of the Fort, covered by a small Grove of Trees had a full view of the wished for spot (I should have crossed at a greater distance from the Town, but the White River coming in just below us we were afraid of getting too near it.) we had Already taken some Prisoners that was coming from the Town. Laying in this Grove some time to dry our Clothes by the Sun we took another Prisoner known to be a friend by which we got all the Intelligence we wished for: but would not suffer him to see our Troops except a few.

A thousand Ideas flushed in my Head at this moment. I found that Gov. Hamilton was able to defend himself for a considerable time, but knew that he was not able to turn out

of the Fort; that if the Siege Continued long a Superior number might come against us, as I knew there was a Party of English not far above in the River; that if they found out our Numbers (*they*) might raise the disaffected Savages and harass us. I resolved to appear as Daring as possible, that the Enemy might conceive by our behaviour that we were very numerous and probably discourage them. I immediately wrote to the Inhabitants in general, Informing them where I was and what I determined to do desiring the Friends to the States to keep close to their Houses and those in the British Interest to repair to the fort and fight for their King; otherways there should be no mercy shewn them, &c., &c. Sending the Compliments of several Officers that was known to be Expected to reinforce me, to several Gentlemen of the Town; I dispatched the Prisoner off with this letter waiting until near sunset, giving him time to get near the Town before we marched. As it was an open Plain from the Wood that covered us; I march'd time enough to be seen from the Town before dark but taking advantage of the Land, disposed the lines in such a manner that nothing but the Pavilions could be seen, having as many of them as would be sufficient for a thousand Men, which was observed by the Inhabitants who had Just Receiv'd my letter, counted the different Colours and Judged of our number accordingly. But I was careful to give them no opportunity of seeing our Troops before dark, which it would be before we could Arrive. The Houses obstructed the Forts observing us and were not Allarmed as I expected by many of the Inhabitants. I detached Lieut. Bayley and a Party to Attack the Fort at a certain Signal, and took possession of the strongest Posts of the Town with the main Body. The Garrisson had so little suspicion of what was to happen that they did not believe the Firing was from

an Enemy\* until a Man was Wounded through the Ports (which hapned the third or fourth shot) Expecting it to be some drunken Indians. The firing commenced on both sides very warm, a second Division Joined the first. A considerable number of British Indians made their escape out of Town: The Kickapous and Peankehaws to the amount of about one hundred, that was in Town immediately Armed themselves in our favour and Marched to attack the Fort. I thanked the Chief for his intended service, told him the ill consequence of our People being mingled in the dark, that they might lay in their quarters until light, he Approved of it and sent off his Troops, appeared to be much elivated himself and staid with me giving all the Information he could. (I knew him to be a friend.) The Artillery from the Fort played briskly but did no execution. The Garrison was intirely surrounded within eighty and a hundred yards behind Houses, Palings and Ditches, &c., &c. Never was a heavier firing kept up on both sides for eighteen Hours with so little damage done. In a few hours I found my Prize sure, Certain of taking every Man that I could have wished for, being the whole of those that incited the Indians to War: all my past sufferings vanished: never was a Man more happy. It wanted no

---

\*There is an amusing anecdote connected with the seige, illustrative of the frank and fearless spirit of the times; that while Helm was a prisoner and playing at piquet with Governor Hamilton in the fort, one of Clark's men requested leave of his commander to shoot at Helm's head-quarters, so soon as they were discovered, to knock down the clay or mortar into his apple toddy; which he was sure the Captain, from his well-known fondness for that fine liquor, would have on his hearth. It is farther added, that when the Captain heard the bullets rattling about the chimney, he jumped up and swore it was Clark, and he would make them all prisoners, "though the d—d rascals had no business to spoil his toddy." *Butler's History of Kentucky*, p. 80.

encouragement from any Officer to inflame our Troops with a Martial Spirit. The knowledge of the Person they attacked and the thoughts of their massacred friends was Sufficient. I knew that I could not afford to loose Men, and took the greatest care of them that I possibly could: at the same time encouraged them to be daring, but prudent. every place near the Fort that could cover them was crowded, and a very heavy firing during the Night, having flung up a considerable intrenchment before the gate where I Intended to plant my Artillery when Arrived. I had learn that one Mafonville had arrived that evening with two prisoners taken on the Ohio discovering some sign of us, supposed (*us*) to be spies from Kentucky immediately on his arrival Capt. Lemote (*was*) sent out to intercept them; being out on our Arrival could not gain the Fort; in attempting several of his men was made Prisoners, himself and party hovering round the Town; I was convinced that they wou'd make off to the Indians at day brake if they cou'd not join their friends; finding all endeavours fruitless to take him, I withdrew the Troops a little from the Garrisson in order to give him an opportunity to get in which he did much to his credit and my satisfaction; as I would rather it should Receive that Reinforcement, than<sup>t</sup> they should be at Large among the Savages. The firing again commenced, A number of the Inhabitants Joined the Troops & Behaved exceeding well in General; knowing of the Prisoners lately taken and by the discription I had of them I was sure of their being the Express from Williamsburg (but was mistaken) to save the papers and Letters; about Eight o'clock in the morning I ordered the firing to cease and sent a flag into the Garrisson with a hand Bill, Recommended Mr. Hamilton to surrender his Garrisson, & severe threats if he destroyed any Letters, &c. He return'd an Ans<sup>r</sup> to this purpose; that the Garrisson was not disposed to be awed into any thing unbecomeing



British Soldiers: the Attack was Renewed with greater Vigour than ever and continued for about two hours. I was determined to listen to no Terms whatever until I was in Possession of the Fort, and only ment to keep them in Action with part of my Troops, while I was making necessary preparations with the other (neglected calling on any of the Inhabitants for Assistants although they wished for it.) A flag appear'd from the Port with a Proposition from Mr. Hamilton for three days Cessation, A desire of a Conference with me immediately, that if I should make any difficulty of coming into the Fort, he would meet me at the Gate; I at first had no notion of listening to any thing he had to say as I could only consider himself & Officers as Murderers, And intended to treat them as such; but, after some deliberation I sent Mr. Hamilton my Compliments, and begged leave to inform him that I should agree to no other terms than his surrendering himself and Garrisson Prisoners at discretion; but if he was desirous of a conference with me I would meet him at the Church. We accordingly met, he Offered to surrender but we could not agree upon terms. He received such treatment on this Conference as a Man of his known Barbarity deserv'd. I would not come upon terms with him, and recommend'd to him to defend himself with spirit and Bravery, that it was the only thing that would induce me to treat him and his Garrison with Lenity in case I stormed it which he might expect. He asked me what more I could Require than the offers he had already made. I told him (which was really the truth) that I wanted a sufficient excuse to put all the Indians & partisans to death, as the greatest part of those Villains was then with him: all his propositions were refus'd: he asked me if nothing would do but fighting. I knew of nothing else, he then begged me to stay until he should return to the Garrisson and consult his Officers: being indiferent about him and wanted a few

moments for my Troops to refresh themselves, I told him that the firing should not commence until such an hour, that during that time he was at Liberty to pass with safety. Some time before a Party of Warriors sent by Mr. Hamilton against Kentucky, had taken two prisoners, was discovered by the Kickabues, who gave information of them. A Party was immediately Detached to meet them which happened in the Commons; they conceived our Troops to be a Party sent by Mr. Hamilton to conduct them in, an honor commonly paid them. I was highly pleased to see each Party hooping, hollowing and Striking each other's Breasts as they approached in the open fields each seemed to try to outdo the other in the greatest signs of Joy; the Poor Devils never discovered their mistake until it was too late for many of them to escape: Six of them were made Prisoners, two of them Scalped and the rest so wounded as we afterwards learnt (*that*) but one Lived. I had now a fair opportunity of making an impression on the Indians that I could have wished for; that of convincing them that Governour Hamilton could not give them that protection that he had made them to believe he could, and in some measure to infer the Indians against him for not Exerting himself to save that Friends: Ordered the Prisoners to be Tomahawked in the face of the Garrison. It had the effect that I expected: instead of making their friends inveterate against us, they upbraided the English Parties in not trying to save their friends and gave them to understand that they believed them to be liars and no Warriors. A remarkable Circumstance happened that I think worthy our notice: An old French Gent, of the name of St. Croix, Lieut. of Capt. McGarty's Volunteers from Cohos had but one Son, who headed these Indians and was made Prisoner. The question was put whether the White Man Should be saved. I ordered them to put him to Death, through Indignation, which did

not extend to the Savages. for fear he would make his escape, his father drew his Sword and stood by him in order to Run him through in case he should stir; being painted (*he*) could not know him. The Wretch on seeing the Executioner's Tomahawk raised to give the fatal Stroke, raised his eyes as if making his last Addresses to heaven; Cried, O save me. The father knew the Son's voice you may easily guess of the adjection and behaviour of these two Persons, coming to the knowledge of each other at so critical a moment. I had so little mercy for such Murderers, and so valuable an opportunity for an Example, knowing there would be the greatest felicitations made to save him, that I immediately absconded myself: but by the warmest felicitations from his father who had behaved so exceedingly well in our service, and some of the Officers, I granted his Life on certain conditions.

Mr. Hamilton and myself again met: he produc'd certain Articles which was refused, but towards the close of the Evening I sent him the following Articles:

1st. That Lieut. Governour Hamilton engages to deliver up to Colo. Clark, Fort Sachville as it is at present with all the Stores, &c.

2d. The Garrifson are to deliver themselves up as Prisoners of War and March out with their Arms and Acoutrements, &c., &c.

3rd. The Garrifson to be Delivered up tomorrow, at ten o'clock.

4th. Three days time be allowed the Garrifson to settle their Accompts with the Traders and Inhabitants of this Place.

5thly. The Officers of the Garrifson to be allowed their necessary Baggage, &c., &c.

Which was agreed to and fulfilled the next day knowing that Governour Hamilton had sent a Party of Men up the

Ouabach to Ome for Stores that he had left there which must be on their return; I waited about twelve hours for the Arival of the Galley to Intercept them: but fearing their getting Intilgence, dispatched Capt. Helms with a Party in Armed Boats who suppressed and made Prisoners of forty, among which was Dejeane, Grand Judge of Detroit, with a large Packet from Detroit; and seven Boats load of Provifions, Indian goods, &c. Never was a Person more mortified than I was at this time to see so fair an oppertunity to push a victory; Detroit lost for want of a few Men; knowing that they would immediately make greater Preparations expecting me. The Galley had taken up on her passage the Expreß from Williamfburg with letters from his Excellency. Having at once all the intilgence I could wish for from both sides, I was better able to fix my future Plans of operation againft Du Troit. By his Excellencie's letter I might expect to have a Compleat Battallion in a few months, the Militia of the Illinois I knew would turn out, did not doubt of getting two or three hundred Men from Kentucky Consequently put the matter out of doubt.

I contented myself on that Prefumption, having almost as many Prisoners as I had Men. Seeing the neceffity of getting rid of many of the Prisoners, not being able to guard them; not doubting but my good treatment to the Volunteers and Inhabitants of Detroit would Promote my Interefts there I discharged the greateft Part of them that had not been with Indian Parties, on their taking the Oath of Neutrility. They went off huzzaing for the Congress, and declared though they could not fight againft the Americans they would for them, (As I after this had Spies constant to and from Detroit, I learnt they answered every purpose that I could have wished for, by prejudicing their friends in favour of America.)

So certain was the Inhabitants of that Post, of my Marching immediately against it, that they made Provision for me in defiance of the Garrison. Many of them has paid dear for it since.

I dispatched off Capt. Williams and company with Governor Hamilton,\* his Principal Officers and a few Soldiers to

---

\*These prisoners were taken to Virginia. "It appeared by papers laid before the Council of State, that Governor Hamilton had issued proclamations and approved of practices, which were marked with cruelty towards the people that fell into his hands, such as inciting the Indians to bring in scalps, putting prisoners in irons, and giving them up to be the victims of savage barbarity. The Council decided that Governor Hamilton was a proper subject for retaliation, and that he should be put in irons and confined in a jail." (*Washington's Writings*, vol. vi, p. 317.) The British General Phillips remonstrated against this treatment, as Hamilton had capitulated on honorable terms, Governor Jefferson referred the matter to General Washington, who recommended a mitigation of the punishment. The irons were taken off, but he was still kept in close confinement with the other prisoners. In November, 1799, Mr. Jefferson wrote to General Washington that "Lamothe and Dejean had given their paroles, and are at Hanover Court House. Hamilton, Hay, and four others are still obstinate. They are therefore still in close confinement." (*Ibid*, p. 407.) October 10th, 1780, General Washington wrote: "The State of Virginia, sensible of the dangerous influence which Governor Hamilton holds over the Indians, have absolutely refused to exchange him on any terms, for the present at least." (*Ibid*, vol. vii, p. 240.) Governor Hamilton and Major Hayes (*or Hay*) in November, 1780, accepted a parole, and were permitted to go to New York. (*Ibid*, p. 291.) Hamilton was afterwards exchanged, and returned to Canada, where, on the recall of Sir Frederick Haldimand in 1785, he was appointed Lieutenant Governor of Quebec. He held this position only one year, when he returned to England, and was shortly afterwards appointed Governor of Dominica. He died at Antigua in September, 1796. (*Morgan's Celebrated Canadians*, p. 108.)

the Falls of Ohio, to be sent to Williamsburg, and in a few days sent my Letters to the Governour.

Having matters a little settled, the Indian department became the next Object. I knew that Mr. Hamilton had endeavoured to make them believe that we intended at last to take all their Lands from them, and that in case of Success we would shew no greater Mercy for those who did not Join him than those that did. I endeavoured to make myself acquainted (*with*) the Arguments he used; And calling together the neighbouring Nations, Peankeshaws, Kickepoes, & others that would not listen to him I endeavored to undeceive them. I made a very long Speech to them in the Indian manner, Extoll'd them to the Skies for their Manly behaviour and fidelity; told them that we were so far from having any design on their Lands, that I looked upon it that we were then on their Land where the Fort stood, that we claimed no Land in their Country; that the first Man that offered to take their Lands by Violence must strike the tomahawk in my head; that it was only necessary that I should be in their Country during the War and keep a Fort in it to drive off the English, who had a design against all People; after that I might go to some place where I could get Land to support Me: The treaty was concluded to the satisfaction of both parties: they were much pleased at what they heard, and begged me to favour them the next day with my Company at a Council of theirs. I accordingly Attended; greatest part of the time spent in Ceremony, they at last told me that they had been meditating on what I had said the day before: that all the Nations would be rejoiced to have me always in their Country as their great Father and Protector: And as I had said I would claim no Land in their Country, they were determin'd that they would not loose me on that Account; and Resolved to give me a Piece, but larger than they had given to all the

French at that Village, and laying down what they would wish me to do, &c. I was well pleased at their offer as I had then an opportunity to deny the exceptance, & farther convince them that we did not want their Land; they appear'd dejected at my Refusal. I waved the discourse upon other Subjects: Recommended a frolick to them that night as the Sky was clearer than ever; gave to them a gun<sup>r</sup> of Taffy and Provisions to make merry on and left them. In a few days some Chipoways and others that had been with Mr. Hamilton, came in and begged me to excuse their blindness and take them into favour; after the warmest Silicitations for Mercy; I told them that the Big Knives was merciful which Proved them to be warriors; that I should send Belts and a speech to all the Nations; that they after hearing of it might do as they pleased but must blame themselves for future misfortunes and dispatched them. Nothing destroys Your Interest among the Savages so soon as wavering sentiments or speeches that shew the least fear. I consequently had observed one steady line of conduct among them: Mr. Hamilton, who was almost Deified among them being captured by me, it was a sufficient confirmation to the Indians of every thing I had formerly said to them and gave the greatest weight to the Speeches I Intended to send them; expecting that I should shortly be able to fulfil my threats with a Body of Troops sufficient to penetrate into any part of their Country; and by Reducing Detroit bring them to my feet. I sent the following Speech to the different Tribes near the Lakes that was at war with us, to wit:

TO THE WARRIERS OF THE DIFFERENT NATIONS.

*Men and Warriors:* it is a long time since the Big Knives sent Belts of peace among You Siliciting of You not to listen to the bad talks and deceit of the English as it would at some future day tend to the Destruction of Your Nation. You

would not listen, but Joined the English against the Big Knives and spilt much Blood of Women and Children. The Big Knives then resolved to shew no mercy to any People that hereafter would refuse the Belt of Peace which should be offered, at the same time One of War. You remember last summer a great many People took me by the hand, but a few kept back their Hearts. I also sent Belts of Peace and War among the nations to take their choice, some took the Peace Belt, others still listened to their great father (as they call him) at Detroit, and Joined him to come to War against me. The Big Knives are Warriors and look on the English as old Women and all those that Join him and are ashamed when they fight them because they are no Men.

I now send two Belts to all the Nations, one for Peace and the other for War. The one that is for War has your great English fathers Scalp tied to it, and made red with his Blood; all You that call yourselves his Children, make your Hatchets sharp & come out and Revenge his Blood on the Big Knives, fight like Men that the Big Knives may not be ashamed when they fight you; that the old Women may not tell us that we only fought Squaws. If any of You is for taking the Belt of Peace, send the Bloody Belt back to me that I may know who to take by the hand as Brothers, for you may be Assured that no peace for the future will be granted to those that do not lay down their Arms immediately. Its as you will I dont care whether You are for Peace or War; as I Glory in War and want Enemies to fight us, as the English cant fight us any longer, and are become like Young Children begging the Big Knives for mercy and a little Bread to eat; this is the last Speech you may ever expect from the Big Knives, the next thing will be the Tomahawk. And You may expect in four Moons to see Your Women and Children given to the Dogs to eat, while those Nations that have kept their words



with me will Flourish and grow like the Willow Trees on the River Banks under the care and nourishment of their father, the Big Knives.

In a few weeks great Numbers came in to St. Vincents and treated for Peace, being laughed at by those that had strictly adhered to their former Treaty with me. After fixing every Department so as to promise future advantage sending Letters to County Lieut. of Kentucky soliciting him to make some preparatory strokes towards Joining me when called on with all the force he could raise, leaving a sufficient Garrison, on the 20th of march I set out for Kaskaskias by Water with a Guard of Eighty men, spending much time in making some observation at different Places; consequently arrive too late to have hindered a War that commenced between the few Delawares residing in this part of the World and the Inhabitants.; a few of them that had joined the British Party knowing what had happened went to Kaskaskias, as was supposed to compromise matters; but getting drunk with some loose Young fellows gave some threats on each side; one of the Indians snatching a Gun at a Woman's Breast, two of them was immediately Killed the rest pursued by the Townsmen some distance down the River, one Killed and some others wounded. The War was carried on pretty equal on both sides for several Months: but they at last thought proper to solicit a Peace. During my absence Capt. Robert George commanded the comp<sup>y</sup> formerly Capt. Willings, had Arrived from Orleans, taking charge of the Garrison which was a considerable Reinforcement to our little Party. Every thing having the Appearance of Tranquility, I resolv'd to spend a few weeks in Divertions which I had not done since my Arrival in the Illinois, but found it impossible when I had any matter of importance in view, the Reduction of Detroit was always uppermost in my mind, not from a motive of Applause; but from the desire I had of Establishing

a Profound Peace on our Fronteers; being so well acquainted with its situation, Strength, and Influence; that in case I was not disappointed in the Number of Troops I expected I even Accounted Detroit my own. Receiving letters from Colo. Bowman at Kentucky informing me that I might expect him to Reinforce me with three hundred Men, when ever I should call on him, if it lay in his power, at the same time receiving Intiligence from Colo. Montgomery, I now thought my Success reduced to a certainty, immediately set about making Provision for the Expedition to be ready against the Arrival of Troops to give the Enemy as little time as Possible to compleat the new fortifications I knew they were then about.

I sent an Exprefs to Colo. Bowman, desiring him to Join me on the 20th of June at St. Vincents with all the force he Possibly could raise agreeable to his Letters to me; sent out Capt. —\* among the different nations of Indians to receive their Congratulations on our late Success receive the submission of those that Resolved to Desert the English, &c., as well as to get fresh Intiligence from Detroit. The Civil Department In the Illinois had heretofore rob'd me of too much of my time that ought to be spent in Military reflection, I was now likely to be relieved by Colo. Jno. Todd† appointed by Government

\* This name is illegible in the manuscript.

† Col. Clark, having desired the Governor of Virginia to appoint a civil commandant, in October, 1778, an act was passed establishing the *county of Illinois*, embracing within its boundary all the chartered limits of Virginia west of the Ohio river. Col. John Todd, who afterwards lost his life at the battle of Blue Licks, received the appointment of Civil Commandant and Lieutenant-Colonel of the county.— *Buller's Kentucky*, p. 65.

for that purpose; I was anxious for his Arrival & happy in his appointment as the greatest intimacy and friendship subsisted between us, and on the — day of May had the Pleasure of seeing him safely Landed at Kaskaskias to the Joy of every Person. I now saw myself happily rid of a Piece of Trouble that I had no delight in. In a few days Colo. Montgomery Arrived, to my Mortification, found that he had not half the Men I expected; immediately receiving a letter from Colo. Bowman, with fresh Assurances of a considerable Reinforcement. The officers in Genl. being Anxious for the Expedition, Resolved to Rendezvous according to appointment, and if not deceived by the Kentuckians, I should still be able to compleat my design, as I only wanted Men sufficient to make me appear Respectable in Passing through the Savages by which means I could on the March Command those friendly at my ease, and defy my Enemies. Three hundred Men being at this time sufficient to Reduce the Garrisson at Detroit, as the new Works was not compleat, nor could not be according to the Plan before my Arrival, The Gentlemen of Detroit not being Idle, (having sufficient reason to be convinced that they were in no danger from the Dept of Pittsburg, always suspicious of my Attracting them sensible of my growing Interest among the savages. In order to give themselves more time to fortify by making some diversion on the Illinois,) engaged a considerable number of their Savages to make an Attempt on St. Vincents; those Indians that had declared for the American Interest, in order to shew their Zeal, sent word to them that if they had a mind to fight the Bostonians at St. Vincents, they must first cut their way through them, as they were Big Knives too. This effectually stopt their operation; knowing that the Expedition depended intirely on the Kentuckians turning out, I began to be suspicious of a disappointment on hearing of

their Marching against the Shawnee Towns which proved too true for on my arrival at St. Vincents, the first of July, instead of two or three hundred men that I was promised, I found only about thirty Volunteers, meeting with a Repulse from the Shawnees\* got discouraged Consequently not in the power of the Com<sup>d</sup> to March them as Militia, being for some time (as I hinted before) suspicious of a disappointment, I had conducted matters so as to make no ill impression on the minds of the Savages in case I should not proceed, as the whole had suspected that my design was against Detroit; Several Nations solicited me to go and suffer them to Join me. Various was the conjectures respecting to the Propriety of the Attempt with the Troops we had (about three hundred & fifty), at a Council of War held for the purpose there was only two casting voices against it, and I pretend it was on account of Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivant's Marching on Niagary, which we Just heard that stopt us, that there was no doubt of his success. Detroit would fall of course; and consequently was not worth our while Marching against it: although I knew at the same time Detroit would not fall with Niagary, as they had an easy communication with Montreal through another Channel, by way of the Grand River. A number of Indians visited me at this time renewing the Chain of friendship &c.; To all of whom I

---

\* "Col. Bowman carried on an expedition against the Shawnese at old Chillicothe, with one hundred and sixty men, in July, 1779. Here they arrived undiscovered, and a battle ensued, which lasted until ten o'clock A. M., when Col. Bowman, finding he could not succeed at this time, retreated about thirty miles. The Indians, in the meantime, collecting all their forces, pursued and overtook him, when a smart fight continued near two hours, not to the advantage of Col. Bowman's party." *Boone's Narrative*, in *Imlay's Western Territory*, London, 1797, p. 352.

gave Gen<sup>l</sup> satisfaction, except that of my refusal of a Tract of Land that their Chief had formerly offered me. I inquired of several Gentlemen acquainted with them, why they were Silicitus about it; their opinions was that the Indians being exceedingly Jealous of their Lands being taken without their Consent, being told by the English that I had a design on their Country, by my excepting a Tract from them as a present, would prove sufficiently to them that what they had been told was false, being satisfied in this they had also had a desire of my Remaining in their Country as their Chief and Guardian and that my refusal had given them suspicion; in order to Remove it I made a suitable Speech to them which gave Gen<sup>l</sup> satisfaction and in a few days they with a great deal of Ceremony presented me the following Deed of gift:

*By the TOBACCOES SON, Grand Chief of all the Peankehaws Nations and of all the Tribes, Grand Dore to the Ouabache as ordered by the Master of Life, holding the Tomahawk in one hand and Peace in the other: Judging the Nations, giving entrance for those that are for Peace, and making them a clear road, &c.*

## DECLARATION.

WHEREAS for many Years past, this once Peaceable Land hath been put in confusion by the English encouraging all People to Raise the Tomahawk Against the Big Knives, saying that they were a bad People, Rebellious, and ought to be put from under the Sun, and their names to be no more.

But as the Sky of our Councils was always Mifty, and never Clear we still was at a loss to know what to do, hoping that the Master of Life would one Day or other make the Sky Clear and put us in the right Road. He taking Pitty on us sent a father among us (Colo. George Rogers Clark) that has

cleared our eyes And made our Path straight defending our Lands, &c., So that we now enjoy Peace from the Rising to the Setting of Sun; and the Nations even to the heads of the great River (meaning the Mississippi) are happy and will no more listen to Bad Birds; but abide by the Councils of their great father, A Chief of the Big Knives that is now among us.

AND whereas it is our desire that he should long remain among us, that we may take his Council and be happy, it also being our desire to give him Lands to reside on in our Country that we may at all times speak to him. After many Silications to him to make choice of a Tract, he chusing the Lands adjoining the falls of Ohio on the west side of said River.

I do hereby in the names of all the Great Chiefs and Warriors of the Ouabash and their Allies, Declare that so much Lands at the falls of Ohio contained in the following bounds, to-wit, Beginning opposite the middle of the first Island below the falls, Bounded upwards by the west Bank of the River so far as to include two Leagues and half on a straight line from the beginning, thence at right angles with said line two Leagues & half in Breadth, in all its Parts shall hereafter and ever be the sole property of our great father (Colo. Clark) with all things thereto belonging, either above or below the Earth shall be and is his; except a Road through said Land to his Door, which shall remain ours, and for us to walk on to speak to our father. All Nations from the Rising to the setting of the Sun, that are not in alliance with us are hereby warned to esteem the said gift as sacred and not to make that Land taste of Blood; that all People either at peace or War may repair in safety to get Council of our father. Whoever first darkens that Land shall no longer have a Name. This declaration shall forever be a Witness between all Nations and our Present G<sup>t</sup> father; that the said Lands are forever hereafter his Property. In witness whereof I do in the name of all the Great

Chiefs and Warriors of the Ouabafh in open Council affix my mark and Seal done at St. Vincents this 16th day of June 1779.

(Signed) FRANCIS SON OF TOBACCO.

Which Deed, I excepted, and Indeavoured to convince them how much I Prifed fo liberal a gift &c as I had no Idea of haveing Property in the Lands myself, knowing the Laws of my Country Juftly againft it; I chofe it at the falls of Ohio fufpecting that I might hereafter find it neceffary to fortify that Place for the conveniency of free Intercourfe. Having a Number of fupernumery Officers I fent them Into the Settlement Recruiting, finding the Intereft of the Department required me to fpend a few months at the Falls of Ohio being alfo Induced with the hopes of giving the Shawneefs a Drubbing in cafe a fufficient force Could be again raifed at Kentucky; After giving proper Inftitution for the direction of the Com<sup>d</sup> of the different Pofts I fet out for the falls where I Arrived fafe on the 20th day of Auguft. I received an Exprefs from his Excellency much to my Satisfaction having frefh Affurance of a fufficient Reinforcement and his Intention of Erecting a Fortification at or near the mouth of Ohio,\* fo much the defire of every Perfon it being a Place of great Importance, and by having a Strong fortification &c it would immediately be

---

\*In 1780, Col. Clark descended the Ohio from the Rapids with his Virginia regiment, and established Fort Jefferson at the point where the line of latitude of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes strikes the left bank of the Mississippi. The Chickasaw Indians then had title to the country west of the Tennessee and were exasperated by such a movement of apparent hostility. Between that tribe and the colonies an unbroken friendship had existed during the war of the Revolution, which it was exceedingly important to preserve. The fort was abandoned therefore, as soon as their dissatisfaction was known, and the immediate consequence was, the restoration of their attachment and confidence." *Morehead's Address*, p. 84.

the Mart and Key of the Western Country; all my Expectations in my being here has been disappointed (except laying up a considerable quantity of Beef) by lowness of the Ohio which (*is*) so remarkable that it would be worth Recording, few being able to navigate it with the smallest Canoes for several months Past.

I shall not for the future leave it in Your Power to accuse me for a Neglect of friendship, but shall continue to transmit to You whatever I think worth Your notice.

I am Sir with Esteem Yours.

N. B. As for the description of the Illinois Country which you seem so anxious for you may expect to have by the ensuing fall as I expect by that Period to be able to give you a more Gen<sup>l</sup> Idea of it. this You may take for granted that its more Beautiful than any Idea I could have formed of a Country almost in a state of Nature, every thing you behold is an Additional Beauty; On the River You'll find the finest Lands the Sun ever shone on; In the high Country You will find a Variety of Poor & Rich Lands with large Meadows extending beyond the reach of Your Eyes Varigated with groves of Trees appearing like Islands in the Seas, covered with Buffloes and other Game; in many Places with a good Glafs You may see all those that is on their feet in half a Million of Acres; so level is the Country, which some future day will excell in Cattle. The Settlements of the Illinois commenced about one hundred Years ago by a few Traders from Canada. my Reflections on that head its situation the probability of a flourishing Trade the state of the Country at Present what its capable of Producing, My opinion Respecting the cause of those extensive Plains &c, the Advantages arising by strong fortifications and Settlements at the mouth of Ohio. The different Nations of Indians, their Traditions, Numbers, &c., you may expect in my next.

G. R. CLARK.



# APPENDIX.



## A.

## Instructions to Colonel Clark.

(PUBLIC.)

LIEUT. COLONEL GEORGE ROGERS CLARK :

You are to proceed, without loss of time, to enlist seven companies of men, officered in the usual manner, to act as militia under your own orders. They are to proceed to Kentucky, and there to obey such orders and directions as you shall give them, for three months after their arrival at that place ; but to receive pay, etc., in case they remain on duty a longer time.

You are empowered to raise these men in any county in the Commonwealth ; and the county lieutenants, respectively, are requested to give all possible assistance in that business.

Given under my hand at Williamsburg, January 2, 1778.

P. HENRY.

(PRIVATE.\*)

VIRGINIA S<sup>C</sup>T.*In Council, Wmsbug, Jan. 2, 1778.*

LIEUT. COLONEL GEORGE ROGERS CLARK:

You are to proceed with all convenient Speed to raise Seven Companies of Soldiers to consist of fifty men each officered in the usual manner & armed most properly for the Enterprise, & with its Force attack the British post at Kaskasky.

It is conjectured that there are many pieces of Cannon & military Stores to considerable amount at that place, the taking & preservation of which would be a valuable acquisition to the State. If you are so fortunate therefore as to succeed in your Expectation, you will take every possible Measure to secure the artillery & stores & whatever may advantage the State.

For the Transportation of the Troops, provisions, &c., down the Ohio, you are to apply to the Commanding Officer at Fort Pitt for Boats, &c. during the whole Transaction you are to take especial Care to keep the true Destination of your Force secret. Its success depends upon this. Orders are therefore given to Capt. Smith to secure the two men from Kaskasky. Similar conduct will be proper in similar cases.

It is earnestly desired that you show Humanity to such British Subjects and other persons as fall in your hands. If the white Inhabitants at the post & the neighbourhood will give undoubted Evidence of their attachment to this State (for it is certain they live within its Limits) by taking the Test prescribed by Law and by every other way & means in their

---

\* From a *fac-simile* copy of the original.

power, Let them be treated as fellow Citizens & their persons & property duly secured. Assistance & protection against all Enemies whatever shall be afforded them, & the commonwealth of Virginia is pledged to accomplish it. But if these people will not accede to these reasonable Demands, they must feel the Miseries of War, under the direction of that Humanity that has hitherto distinguished Americans, & which it is expected you will ever consider as the Rule of your Conduct, & from which you are in no Instance to depart.

The Corps you are to command are to receive the pay & allowance of Militia & to act under the Laws & Regulations of this State now in Force as Militia. The Inhabitants at this Post will be informed by you that in Case they accede to the offers of becoming Citizens of this Commonwealth a proper Garrison will be maintained among them & every Attention bestowed to render their Commerce beneficial, the fairest prospects being opened to the Dominions of both France & Spain.

It is in Contemplation to establish a post near the Mouth of Ohio. Cannon will be wanted to fortify it. Part of those at Kaskasky will be easily brought thither or otherwise secured as circumstances will make necessary.

You are to apply to General Hand for powder & Lead necessary for this Expedition. If he can't supply it the person who has that which Capt. Lynn brought from Orleans can. Lead was sent to Hampshire by my orders & that may be delivered you. Wishing you success, I am

Sir,

Your h'ble Serv.,

P. HENRY.

## B.

## Major Bowman's Journal.

*From Louisville Literary News-Letter, Nov. 21, 1840.*

"We publish below a journal of the expedition of General Clark against the British post at Vincennes in 1779, commencing with his march from Kaskaskia. It was kept by Joseph Bowman, one of the Captains in the expedition, and is referred to by Mr. Butler in his "History of Kentucky" as "*Major Bowman's Journal*," the writer having subsequently held the rank of Major. At the time where this journal commences, Clark was in possession of Kaskaskia and Cahokia. Vincennes had once been gained over to him through the influence of a French priest, M. Gibault; but as Clark had not soldiers to spare sufficient to maintain a garrison there, it had been retaken by Gov. Hamilton. The journal will explain the sequel.

The original manuscript of this journal—much effaced, and in some places illegible—is in possession of the Kentucky Historical Society. The Vincennes Historical and Antiquarian Society have a copy, which we transcribed for them and for the use of our friend Judge Law of that place."

JOURNAL OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF COL. GEO. R. CLARK,  
FROM 27TH JANUARY, 1779, TO MARCH 20TH INST.

M. Vigo, a Spanish subject, who has been at Post St. Vincents on his lawful business, arrived and gave us intelligence that Gov. Hamilton, with thirty regulars and fifty

volunteers and about 400 Indians, had arrived in November and taken that post with Capt. Helm and such other Americans who were there with arms, \* \* (*two or three words illegible*) \* \* and disarmed the settlers and inhabitants. On which Col. Clark called a council of his officers, and it was concluded to go and attack Gov. Hamilton at St. Vincents; for fear, if it was let alone till Spring, that he, with all the force that he could bring, would cut us off \* \* (*a part of a leaf is here torn off from the MS.*)

*Jan. 31st.* Sent an express to Cahokia for volunteers and other extraordinary things.

*Feb. 1.* Orders given for a large batteau to be repaired and provisions got ready for the expedition concluded on.

*2d.* A pack-horse master appointed and ordered to prepare pack-saddles, &c., &c.

*3d.* The galley or batteau finished—called her the *Willing*. Put her loading on board, together with two four-pounders and four swivels, ammunition, &c., &c.

*4th.* About 10 o'clock Capt. McCarty arrived with a company of volunteers from Cahokia; and about two o'clock in the (*after*) noon, the batteau set off under the command of Lieut. Rogers, with forty-six men, with orders to proceed to a certain station near St. Vincents, till farther orders.

*5th.* Raised another company of volunteers, under the command of Capt. Francis Charleville, which, added to our force, increased our number to 170 men \* \* (*torn off*)

\* \* artillery, pack-horses, men, &c.; about 3 o'clock we crossed the Kaskaskia with our baggage and marched about a league from town. Fair and drizzly weather. Began our march early. Made a good march for about nine hours, the road very bad with mud and water. Pitched our camp in a square, baggage in the middle; every company to guard their own squares.

8th. Marched early through the waters, which we now began to meet in those large and level plains, where, from the flatness of the country, (*the water*) rests a considerable time before it drains off. Notwithstanding which our men were in great spirits, though much fatigued.

9th. Made another day's march. Fair the part of the day.

10th. Crossed the river of the Petit Fork upon trees that were fell for that purpose. The water being so high there was no fording it,—still raining and no tents—encamped near the river. Stormy weather.

11th. Crossed the Saline river. Nothing extraordinary this day.

12th. Marched across Cot plains; saw and killed numbers of buffaloes. The road very bad from the immense quantity of rain that had fallen. The men much fatigued. Encamped on the edge of the woods. This plain or meadow being fifteen or more miles across, it was late in the night before the baggage and troops got together. Now twenty-one miles from St. Vincents.

13th. Arrived early at the two Wabashes. Although a league asunder they now made but one. We set to making a canoe.

14th. Finished the canoe and put her into the river about 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

15th. Ferried across the two Wabashes, it being then five miles in water to the opposite hills, where we encamped. Still raining. Orders not to fire any guns for the future but in case of necessity.

16th. Marched all day through rain and water, crossed Fox river. Our provisions began to be short.

17th. Marched early—crossed several runs, very deep. Sent Mr. Kennedy, our commissary, with three men, to cross



the river Embarras, if possible, and to proceed to a plantation opposite Port St. Vincents, in order to steal boats or canoes to ferry us across the Wabash. About an hour by sun we got near the river Embarras. Found the country all overflown with water. We strove to find the Wabash. Traveled till 8 o'clock in mud and water, but could find no place to encamp on. Still kept marching on. But after some time Mr. Kennedy and his party returned. Found it impossible to cross Embarras river. We found the water falling from a small spot of ground; staid there the remainder of the night. Drizzly and dark weather.

18th. At break of day heard Gov. Hamilton's morning gun. Set off and marched down the river. Saw some fine land. About two o'clock came to the bank of the Wabash; made rafts for four men to cross and go up to town and steal boats. But they spent day and night in the water to no purpose, for there was not one foot of dry land to be found.

19th. Capt. McCarty's company set to making a canoe, and at 3 o'clock the four men returned after spending the night on some old logs in the water. The canoe finished, Capt. McCarty with three of his men embarked in the canoe and made the third attempt to steal boats. But he soon returned, having discovered four large fires about a league distant from our camp, which seemed to him to be fires of whites and Indians. Immediately Col. Clark sent two men in the canoe, down to meet the batteau, with orders to come on day and night; that being our last hope, and (*we*) starving. Many of the men much cast down, particularly the volunteers. No provisions of any sort, now two days. Hard fortune!

20th. Camp very quiet but hungry; some almost in despair; many of the Creole volunteers talking of returning. Fell to making more canoes, when, about 12 o'clock, our centry on the river brought to a boat with five Frenchmen

from the Post, who told us we were not as yet discovered, that the inhabitants were well disposed towards us, &c. Capt. Willing's brother, who was taken in the fort, had made his escape to us. And that one Masonville, with a party of Indians, were then seven days in pursuit of him, with much news,—more news to our favor, such as repairs done the fort, the strength, &c., &c. They informed us of two canoes they had adrift some distance above us. Ordered that Capt. Worthington, with a party, go in search of them. Returned late with one only. One of our men killed a deer, which was brought into the camp. Very acceptable.

21st. At break of day began to ferry our men over in our two canoes to a small hill called the Momib or Bubbriss. Capt. Williams, with two men, went to look for a passage and were discovered by two men in a canoe, but could not fetch them to. The whole army being over, he thought to get to town that night, so plunged into the water sometimes to the neck, for more than one league, when we stopped on the next hill of the same name, there being no dry land on any side for many leagues. Our pilots say we cannot get along, that it is impossible. The whole army being over we encamped. Rain all this day—no provisions.

22d. Col. Clark encourages his men, which gave them great spirits. Marched on in the waters. Those that were weak and famished from so much fatigue, went in the canoes. We came one league farther to some sugar camps, where we stayed all night. Heard the evening and morning guns from the fort. No provisions yet. Lord help us!

23d. Set off to cross the plain called Horse-shoe Plain, about four miles long, all covered with water breast high. Here we expected some of our brave men must certainly perish, having froze in the night, and so long fasting. Having no other resource but wading this plain, or rather lake, of

waters, we plunged into it with courage, Col. Clark, being first,\* taking care to have the boats try to take those that were weak and numbed with the cold into them. Never were men so animated with the thought of avenging the wrongs done to their back settlements, as this small army was.

About one o'clock we came in sight of the town. We halted on a small hill of dry land called Warren's Island, where we took a prisoner hunting ducks, who informed us that no person suspected our coming at that season of the year. Col. Clark wrote a letter by him to the inhabitants, in the following manner :

*To the Inhabitants of Post St. Vincents :*

GENTLEMEN :—Being now within two miles of your village with my army, determined to take your Fort this night, and not being willing to surprise you, I take this method to request such of you as are true citizens, and willing to enjoy the liberty I bring you, to remain still in your houses. And

---

\*Without food, benumbed with cold, up to their waists in water covered with broken ice, the men composing Clark's troops and at one time mutinied, refused to march. All the persuasions of Clark had no effect on the half-starved and half-frozen soldiers. In one of the companies was a small boy who acted as drummer. In the same company was a sergeant, standing six feet two inches in his stockings, stout, athletic, and devoted to Clark. Finding that his eloquence had no effect upon the men, in persuading them to continue their line of march, Clark mounted the little drummer on the shoulders of the stalwart sergeant, and gave orders to him to plunge into the half-frozen water. He did so, the little drummer beating the *charge* from his lofty perch, while Clark, with sword in hand, followed them giving the command as he threw aside the floating ice—"FORWARD !" Elated and amused with the scene, the men promptly obeyed, holding their rifles above their heads, and in spite of all obstacles, reached the high land beyond them safely. *Law's Vincennes*, p. 32.

those, if any there be, that are friends to the King, will instantly repair to the fort and join the *Hair-buyer General*,\* and fight like men. And if any such, as do not go to the Fort shall be discovered afterwards, they may depend on severe punishment. On the contrary, those that are true friends to liberty, may depend on being well treated. And I once more request them to keep out of the streets; for every one I find in arms on my arrival, I shall treat as an enemy.

(Signed,)

G. R. CLARK.

In order to give time to publish this letter, we lay still till about sundown, when we began our march all in order, with colours flying and drums braced. After wading to the edge of the water breast high, we mounted the rising ground the town is built on about 8 o'clock. Lieut. Bayley, with fourteen regulars, was detached to fire on the Fort, while we took possession of the town, and ordered to stay till he was relieved by another party, which was soon done. Reconnoitred about to find a place to throw up an entrenchment. Found one, and set Capt. Bowman's company to work. Soon crossed the main street, about one hundred and twenty yards from the first gate. We were informed that Capt. Lamath, with a party of twenty-five men, were out on a scout, who heard our firing and came back. We sent a party to intercept them, but missed them. However, we took one of their men, and one Capt. Maison Ville, a principal man; the rest making their escape under the cover of the night into the fort. The cannon played smartly. Not one of our men wounded. Men in the Fort badly wounded. Fine sport for the sons of Liberty.

---

\* Alluding to the fact that Gov. Hamilton had offered rewards for the scalps of Americans.

24th. As soon as daylight, the Fort began to play her small arms very briskly. One of our men got slightly wounded. About 9 o'clock the Colonel sent a flag with a letter to Governor Hamilton. The firing then ceased, during which time our men were provided with a breakfast, it being the only meal of victuals since the 18th inst.

*Col. Clark's letter as follows:*

"Sir:—In order to save yourself from the impending storm that now threatens you, I order you immediately to surrender yourself, with all your garrison, stores, &c., &c., &c. For if I am obliged to storm, you may depend on such treatment is as justly due to a murderer. Beware of destroying stores of any kind, or any papers, or letters, that are in your possession; for, by Heavens, if you do, there shall be no mercy shown you.

(Signed)

G. R. CLARK."

*Answer from Gov. Hamilton.*

"GOVERNOR HAMILTON begs leave to acquaint Col. Clark, that he and his garrison are not disposed to be awed into an action unworthy of British subjects."

The firing then began very hot on both sides. None of our men wounded; several of the men in the Fort wounded through the port holes, which caused Governor Hamilton to send out a flag with the following letter:

"GOVERNOR HAMILTON proposes to Col. Clark a truce for three days; during which time he proposes there shall be no defensive work carried on in the garrison, on condition that Col. Clark shall observe, on his part, a like cessation of any offensive work. That is, he wishes to confer with Col. Clark as soon as can be; and promises, that whatever may pass between them two and another person mutually agreed

upon to be present, shall remain secret till matters be finished, as he wishes that whatever the result of their conference, it may be to the honour and credit of each party. If Col. Clark makes a difficulty of coming into the fort, Lieut. Gov. Hamilton will speak to him by the gate.

(Signed)

HENRY HAMILTON.

24th Feb., '79."

*Col. Clark's Answer.*

"COL. CLARK'S compliments to Gov. Hamilton, and begs to inform him that he will not agree to any other terms than that of Mr. Hamilton's surrendering himself and garrison prisoners at discretion. If Mr. Hamilton is desirous of a conference with Col. Clark, he will meet him at the church with Capt. Helm.

G. R. C.

Feb. 24, '79."

The messenger returned with the above answer, during which time came a party of Indians down the hill behind the town, who had been sent by Gov. Hamilton to get some scalps and prisoners from the falls of the Ohio. Our men having got news of it, pursued them, killed two on the spot, wounded three, took six prisoners; brought them into town. Two of them proving to be white men, that they took prisoners, we released them, and brought the Indians to the main street before the Fort gate, there tomahawked them, and threw them into the river; during which time Col. Clark and Governor Hamilton met at the church. Governor Hamilton produced certain articles of capitulation, with his name signed to them, which were refused. The Colonel told him he would consult with his officers and let him know the terms he would capitulate on. Terms as follows :

1. That Lieut. Col. Hamilton engages to deliver up to Col. Clark, Fort Sackville, as it is at present, with all the stores, &c., &c., &c.

2. The garrison are to deliver themselves as prisoners of war, and march out with their arms and accoutrements, &c., &c.

3. The garrison to be delivered up at 10 o'clock tomorrow.

4. Three days' time to be allowed the garrison to settle their accounts with the inhabitants and traders of this place.

5. The officers of the garrison to be allowed the necessary baggage, &c., &c.

Signed at Post St. Vincents, 24th Feb., 1779.

Agreed to for the following reasons: The remoteness from succors; the state and quantity of provisions, &c.; unanimity of officers and men in its expediency; the honourable terms allowed; and, lastly, the confidence in a generous enemy.

(Signed)

HENRY HAMILTON,

*Lieut. Gov. and Superintendent.*

25th. About 10 o'clock Capt. Bowman and Capt. McCarty's companies paraded on one side of the Fort gate. Governor Hamilton and his garrison marched out, whilst Col. Clark, Captains Williams' and Worthington's companies marched into the Fort, relieved the centries, hoisted the American colours, secured all the arms. Governor Hamilton marched back to the Fort, shut the gate. Orders for thirteen cannon to be fired; during which time there happened a very unlucky accident through mismanagement. There blew up twenty-six six-pound cartridges in one of the batteries, which burned Capt. Bowman and Capt. Worthington much, together with four privates.

No account of our batteau yet.

26th. Rain all day. Captains Helm, Henry, and Major Legare, with fifty men of the militia, ordered to proceed up

the river with three boats, with a swivel each, to meet ten boats that were sent in October last, for provisions and stores to Omi, and to take the same in custody.

27th. The *Willing*, our batteau, arrived, to the great mortification of all on board, that they had not the honour to assist us. In the same came William Mires, from Williamsburgh, with very good news. Captain Bowman receives a Major's commission enclosed from the Governor.

28th. Nothing extraordinary.

March 1st. The officers discharged on parole. Nothing extraordinary.

2d, 3d, and 4th. Wet weather.

5th. About 10 o'clock Captain Helm arrived. His party took seven boats loaded with provisions and bale-goods, &c., taken from the enemy, with the following prisoners: Mr. Dejean, Grand Judge of Detroit, Mr. Adimar, Commissary, with thirty-eight privates. Letters taken from the enemy, dated Detroit, the 6th of February, say, they are much afraid of our people in the spring. Pray Gov. Hamilton to come back again. War was not as yet declared between France and England. Sent off a party of volunteers to Kaskaskias.

6th. A very rainy day. Nothing extraordinary.

7th. Capt. Williams and Lieut. Rogers, with twenty-five men, set off for the Falls of Ohio, to conduct the following prisoners, viz: Lieut. Gov. Hamilton, Major Hays, Capt. Lamoth, Mons. Dejean, Grand Judge of Detroit, Lieut. Shiflin, Doc. M'Beth, Francis M'Ville, Mr. Bell Fenilb, with eighteen privates. Nothing extraordinary.

8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 13th and 14th. Cloudy weather and rain all the foregoing week. This morning Mr. Mires set off for Williamsburg with two men.

15th. A party of Peaians and Meami Indians waited on Col. Clark, and assured him of fidelity, &c., to the Americans,



and begged protection. In the meantime there arrived an express from Kaskaskias, by which we learn that Capt. George, with forty-one men, had arrived there from New Orleans, and taken command of Fort Clark; and also that Jas. Willings had resigned his command to the said Capt. George, and that he and Capt. Mackintire had embarked for Philadelphia. Wm. Mires returned, not being able to go by land to the Falls of Ohio, the country overflowing with water.

16th. Most of the prisoners took the oath of neutrality, and got permission to set out for Detroit. Sent by them a copy of the alliance between France and the thirteen United States.

17th. Nothing extraordinary.

18th. Snow and rain the best part of the day.

19th. Orders for six boats to be made ready to return to Kaskaskias with prisoners.

20th. The boats ready and loaded. Capt. M'Carty takes command of the *Willing*; Capt. Keller, Capt. Worthington, Ensign Montgomery, Ensign Lorraine, each to take charge of one boat. Sergeant and six men to take the small boat called the *Running Fly*. About 4 o'clock the whole embarked, leaving Lieut. Brashers in command of the Fort, with Lieut. Baily, Lieut. Chapman, forty men, Serjeant and Corporals included, to the care of the garrison till relieved from Kaskaskias. Capt. Helm commands the town in all civil matters, and superintendent of Indian affairs, Mr. Moses Henry, Indian Agent, Mr. Patrick Kennedy, Quartermaster. The boats, after rejoicing, are run out of sight. "God send them a good and safe passage."

THIS JOURNAL was taken from Major Bowman, and revised by a person who was in the expedition. He has kept it for his own amusement, but it does not come near what might be wrote upon such an extraordinary occasion, had it been handled by a person who chose to enlarge upon it. It afforded matter

enough to treat on; the season of the year when undertaken, and the good conduct, shows what might have been done with an army, let the difficulties be what they will. Persevering and steadiness will surmount them all, as was the case with our brave commander, and all his officers, not forgetting his soldiers. Although a handful in comparison to other armies, they have done themselves, and the cause they were fighting for, credit and honour, and deserve a place in history for future ages; that their posterity may know the difficulty their forefathers had gone through for their liberty and freedom. Particularly the back settlers of Virginia may bless the day they sent out such a commander, officers, and men. I say, to root out that nest of vipers, that was every day ravaging on their women and children; which I hope will soon be at an end, as the leaders of these murderers will soon be taken and sent to Congress.

GOD SAVE THE COMMONWEALTH.

Finis.

'79

*(On the next blank page.)*

GOD SAVE THE COMMONWEALTH, this 15th day of August, 1779.

## INDEX.

---

ADIMAR, Mr., British Commissary, 92.

Au Poste. See *Vincennes*.

Aux Miamis. See *Omee*.

BAILEY, Lieutenant, 43, 58, 88, 93.

Blinn, Daniel, Agent of the people of Illinois, 2.

Boundaries settled, 6.

Boone's *Narrative*, reference to, 72.

Border warfare in Kentucky, 14.

Bowman, Captain Joseph, notices of, 26, 35, 42, 48, 50, 52, 56, 70, 71, 88, 91. Captures Cahokia, 33. Expedition against the Shawnees, 72. Journal of the Expedition against Vincennes, 82. Receives a Major's commission, 92.

Brashears, Lieutenant, 93.

Butler's *History of Kentucky*, references to, 29, 46, 54, 59, 70.

CAHOKIA. Situation, 30. Captured, 33.

Casseday's *History of Louisville*, reference to, 28.

Celeron, Mr., a British Agent, 44.

Chapman, Lieutenant, 93.

Charleville, Captain Francis, 55, 83.

Chenowith, Rd., one of the first settlers of Louisville, 27.

Chip-kaw-kay, Indian village at Vincennes, 31.

Clark, George Rogers, plans Expedition against the Illinois, 1, 17, 24. Conquest of the Illinois, 4. Results of the campaign, 5, 6. Biographical sketch, 7. Birth, 7. In Dunmore's war, 7. Refuses commission in British service, 8. Removes to Kentucky, 8. Kentucky delegate to Virginia, 9. Waits on the Governor and Council, 10. Returns to Kentucky with powder, 12. Sends spies to Illinois, 17.

CLARK, GEORGE ROGERS—*Continued.*

Expeditions against the Ohio Indians, 18, 20. Builds Fort Jefferson, 18, 75. Scheme for the reduction of Detroit, 19. Made Brigadier General, 19. Offered commission as Major General in French army, 21. Death, 21.

Cohos. See *Cahokia*.

Collins' *Historical Sketches of Kentucky*, sketch of Col. Clark from, 7.

Congress, act of 1780, 5.

Connelly, John, patents site of Louisville, 27.

DEJEAN, grand judge of Detroit, captured, 64, 92. Taken to Virginia, 65, 92.

Detroit, Clark's designs on, 16, 25, 43, 44, 71, 72, 86. General McIntosh's expedition against, 51. He returns, 52.

Dillard, Captain, 26, 27.

Drummer boy, anecdote of, 87.

EMBARRASS River, 56.

FAITH, William, one of the first settlers at Louisville, 27.

Fenilb, Mr. Bell, 92.

Forbes, General, 28.

Fort Duquesne, 28.

Fort Jefferson built, 3, 75.

Fort Massac, 28.

Fort Sackville, at Vincennes, 31. Surrendered, 46, 63.

Fort St. Joseph taken by the Spanish, 3.

Fort Wayne, 46.

France, claims of, to the Illinois country, 2, 3.

Francis, son of Tobacco, deed of land to Clark, 73.

Franklin, Dr. B., on the western boundary, 3.

French, many, enter Clark's service, 35.

GENET, French minister, 21.

George, Captain Robert, 69, 93.

Gibault, Pierre, priest at Kaskaskia, 32, 33, 49, 56.

- HAIR-BUYER General (Hamilton), 88.
- Haldimand, Sir Frederick, British Governor of Quebec, 65.
- Hamilton, Henry, British Governor of Vincennes, retakes that post, 46. Surrenders to Clark, 63. Sent to Virginia, 65, 92. Subsequent career, 65.
- Hand, General, furnishes supplies, 26.
- Harrodsburg, Ky., General Assembly at, 8.
- Hays, *British* Major, 65, 92.
- Helms, Captain, notices of, 26, 35, 43, 64, 91, 92, 93. Commands at Vincennes, 35. Surrenders, 46. Anecdote, 59. Captures party from Detroit, 64, 92.
- Henderson & Co., claims to Kentucky, 9, 10, 11.
- Henry, Captain, 91.
- Henry, Moses, 46, (?), 91.
- Henry, Patrick, Governor of Virginia, 10, 24. Instructions to Col. Clark, 79, 80.
- Hutchins, Lieutenant, deserts, 27.
- ILLINOIS County, claims of France, Spain, Great Britain, and the United States to, 2, 3, 4. Captured by Clark, 5. Described, 76.
- Illinois County, established by Virginia, 4, 70.
- Illinois, Incidents of the Expedition against: Clark presents his plans to the Governor and Council of Virginia, 24. Is given the command of the Expedition, 24. Sets out for the Falls, 26. Encamps on Corn Island, 27. Sets out for the Illinois, 28. Captures Kaskaskia, 30. Cahokia, 32. Vincennes, 35. Treats with the Indians, 35, 41. Vincennes re-occupied by Gov. Hamilton, 46. Attempt to capture Clark, 47. Report of Hamilton's advance on Kaskaskia, 47. Expedition against Vincennes, 56, 83. Arrives at the Wabash, 56, 84. Country overflowed, 56, 85.
- Arrives near the town, 57, 89. Communicates with the inhabitants, 58, 87. Attack of the fort, 59, 88. Demands surrender, 61, 88. Surrender, 63, 91. Capture of party from Detroit, 64. Prisoners sent to Virginia, 65, 92.

ILLINOIS—*Continued.*

Clark returns to Kaskaskia, 69. Col. John Todd appointed Civil Commandant of Illinois County, 70. Clark returns to the Falls, 75.

Indians, warfare in Kentucky, 14. Expeditions against the Ohio, 18, 20, 72. Attack at Kanawha, 26. Clark's speeches to, 35, 38, 39, 66, 67. Attempt to abduct Clark, 38. Chiefs placed in irons, 38. Treaties with, 35, 41, 66. Offer land to Clark, 66, 73.

Indian tribes: Cherokees, 9. Chipoways, 37, 67. Delawares, 69. Foxes, 37. Kaskaskias, 35. Kickapoos, 35, 59, 62, 66. Mehegames, 35. Miamis, 41, 92. Missesogies, 37. Ottoways, 37. Petawatomes, 37. Peorians, 35. Piankeshaws, 35, 59, 66, 73. Puans, 37. Sacs, 37. Sages, 37. Shawnees, 72. Tauways, 37.

Instructions to Col. Clark, Public, 79. Private, 80.

JEBOTH. See *Gibault*.

Jefferson, Thomas, letter to Col. Clark, 2.

Jefferson's *Works*, reference to, 35.

Jones, Gabriel, Kentucky delegate to Virginia, 9.

KASKASKIA. Situation, 29. Capture, 30. Report of Hamilton's advance on, 47. Clark's return to, 48. Preparations for defense of, 49. Burns a portion of the town, 50. False alarm, 52. Trouble at, 69. Clark's return to, 69.

Keller, Captain, 93.

Kennedy, Patrick, commissary, 84, 93.

Kentucky, Convention at Harrodsburg, 8. Clark and Jones appointed delegates to Virginia, 9. Part of, claimed by Henderson & Co., 9, 10. County of, formed, 12. Border warfare in, 14.

LAFAYETTE, town of, 43.

Lamothe, *British* Captain, 60, 65, 88, 92.

Land, grant to Clark and his soldiers, 6. Reserved on the Scioto and Little Miami, 6. Offered by the Indians to Clark, 66. Refused, 67. Accepted, 73. Deed, 73.

Law's *Colonial History of Vincennes*, reference to, 32, 54, 87.  
Lefont, Dr., of Kaskaskia, 34.

Legare, Major, 91.

Leyba, Francisco de, Spanish Governor of Upper Louisiana, 42.

Lorraine, Ensign, 93.

Louisville, settlement of, 17, 27.

Louisville *Literary News-Letter*, quoted, 82.

McBETH, Doctor, *British*, 92.

McCarty, Captain, 55, 62, 83, 85, 91, 93.

McIntosh, General, Expedition against Detroit, 45, 46.

McIntire, Captain, 93.

McManness, J., one of the first settlers of Louisville, 27.

M'Murtrie's *History of Louisville*, reference to, 27.

Mason, Hon. George, of Virginia, Clark's letter addressed to,  
1, 23.

Masonville, *British* Captain, 60, 88.

Mires, William, express from Williamsburg, 92, 93.

Monette's *History of the Valley of the Mississippi*, reference  
to, 28.

Montgomery, Colonel, 27, 70, 71.

Montgomery, Ensign, 93.

Morehead's *Address*, reference to, 75.

Morgan's *Celebrated Canadians*, reference to, 65.

NEGOTIATIONS at Paris, in 1782, 4.

OHARRARD, Captain, 26.

Ohio Indians, Expeditions against, 18, 20, 72.

Omee, an Indian village, 46, 92.

Ouatenon, a French settlement on the Wabash, 43.

Oueaugh. See *Wea*.

PATTON, James, one of the first settlers at Louisville, 27.

Phillips, *British* General, 65.

Pirtle, Hon. Henry, Introduction by, 1.

Pope, William, lays out the town of Louisville, 27.

Post St. Vincent. See *Vincennes*.

Prairie du Rocher, an old French village, 47.

RAYNEVAL, secretary to the French Minister, 4.

Rocheblave, *British* Governor of Kaskaskia, taken prisoner, 30.

Sent to Virginia, 34.

Rogers, Lieutenant, 55, 92.

ST. CROIX, Lieutenant, and son, 62.

St. Vincents. See *Vincennes*.

Saunders, John, guide, 29.

Shiflin, *British* Lieutenant, 92.

Smith, Captain, 26.

Spain, claims of, to the Illinois country, 3. Takes possession of Fort St. Josephs, 3.

Spaniards friendly to Col. Clark, 33.

Sparks' *Life and Writings of Washington*, reference to, 65.

Sullivan, General, 72.

TOBACCO's son deeds land to Clark, 73.

Todd, Colonel John, appointed Civil Commandant of Illinois County, 70.

Treaty, of Paris, 1763, 2. England and America, 6. With the Indians, 35, 42, 66.

Tuel, John, one of the first settlers at Louisville, 27.

VERGENNES, Count de, Minister of France, 4.

Vigo, Francis, brings intelligence from Vincennes, 54. Notices of, 54, 82.

Vincennes, situation, 30. Names, 31. Occupied by Clark's forces, 35, 43, 44. Surrendered by Capt. Helms, 46. Intelligence from, 54. Clark's Expedition against, 55. Arrival there, 57. Communicates with the inhabitants, 58. Takes the Fort, 63.

Vinsenne, Francis Morgan de, 31.

Virginia, acts of 1781 and 1783, 5. Sends powder to Kentucky, 12.



WASHINGTON, General, 1, 35.

Wea river, 43.

Williams, Captain, 65, 86, 91, 92.

Willings, Captain James, 69, 86, 93.

Worthington, Captain William, 56, 86, 91, 93.

[EDWARD ?]





THIS BOOK IS DUE ON THE LAST DATE  
STAMPED BELOW

AN INITIAL FINE OF 25 CENTS  
WILL BE ASSESSED FOR FAILURE TO RETURN  
THIS BOOK ON THE DATE DUE. THE PENALTY  
WILL INCREASE TO 50 CENTS ON THE FOURTH  
DAY AND TO \$1.00 ON THE SEVENTH DAY  
OVERDUE.

SEP 22 1941	SEP 25 1982
SEP 22 1941 M	REC. CIR. SEP 9 '82
DEC 2 1941 N	
REC'D CIRC DEPT	OCT 20 1974 8
SEP 17 1942	MAY 2 1974 35
7 Apr 1950 LT	PCT 19 1975 10
<i>Paulsen</i>	REC. CIR. NOV 12 75
MAY 7 1955 <i>Pal</i>	FEB 3 1 1985
APR 21 1957	
10 Jan 75	
	11:40 (69366)
	NOV 2 1975
	NOV 2 1975

GENERAL LIBRARY - U.C. BERKELEY



B000780447

M837C7

E234

C53

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY

